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Early Chola Art

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BY THE SAME AUTHOR

Four Chola Temples

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Early Chola Art

Part I

S. R. Balasubrahmanyam

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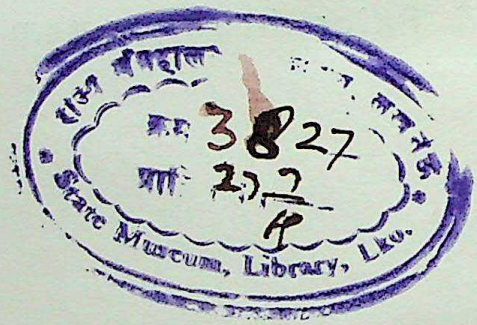

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Dedicated

to

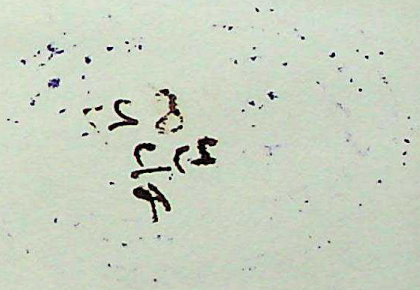
the memory of

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

architect of Indian freedom

and

apostle of national integration



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Foreword

The Tamilnad has a long, rich and glorious history and tradition dating from the earliest recorded times. The Tamil Sangam works and the later classics, *Silappadikaram* and *Manimehalai*, are replete with descriptions of temples as well as of the deities worshipped in them and of the ardour of their devotees. Though their builders seem to have had a knowledge of some of the *Agamas* and *Silpasastras*, the structures were made of perishable materials and hence hardly any of them appears to have survived.

The advent of the Pallavas on the political scene in the 7th century A.D. ushered in a new era in South Indian History. There was a literary, religious and artistic renaissance in its wake. It coincided with the age of the great *Nayanmars* and *Alvars*, whose devotional hymns stirred the hearts of the people to their depths. The whole country came to be studded with temples which became the live centres of community life; among them were cave-temples and panels of rock-cut sculptures as well as structural temples of brick and stone.

The glorious period of the Pallavas was followed by the still more glorious one of the Cholas of the Vijayalaya House of Thanjavur. Their rule lasted for about four centuries and they pushed their political supremacy and the range of their commerce to the farthest limits that any South Indian power ever attempted or attained. At its widest, the empire extended from the region of the Ganga in the North to the island of Lanka in the South and from Mahodai (Cranganore) on the west coast to Kadaram (Kedah) in the Malay peninsula and the neighbouring islands of South-East Asia in the East. Above all else, their fame in history rests secure as the greatest

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builders of temples and creators of immortal works of art that the Tamilnad has known. The surviving temples and their sculptural wealth in stone and metal are worthy memorials of their grand achievements in varied fields of human activity, and an inspiration to succeeding generations.

In recent times, after the establishment of the Hindu Religious Endowments Board, great attention has come to be paid to temples and to their proper conservation and maintenance. All possible efforts are being made to make them attractive centres of worship and spiritual enlightenment. The trustees and executive officers of temples have published booklets on the temples under their charge, based on available materials including the *sthalapuranas*. However, many of the Chola temples, some of them real gems of art, still remain in oblivion, though a few outstanding ones such as those of Thanjavur and Gangaikonda Cholapuram have received the wide accord they so richly deserve.

Sri S. R. Balasubrahmanyam has done a great deal of work in the field-study of the Early Chola temples. His intimate knowledge of these temples has been built up over a period of nearly forty years. His earlier book, *Four Chola Temples*, is in fact a study of the evolution of the architectural style of the Cholas. His account of the role of the temple and of the origin and kinds of temples in the present book should be of great interest. After a critical examination of the available literary, epigraphical and architectural sources, he has succeeded in identifying about one hundred and twenty temples which could be ascribed to the "Early Chola period", that is, the period covering the reigns of the Cholas of the Vijayalaya House up to the accession of Rajaraja the Great (A.D. 985), and has compiled a scholarly, and at the same time popular, account of these temples. The present volume, Part I of *Early Chola Art*, covers the temples ascribable to the period of the first two rulers of the Vijayalaya House,

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namely Vijayalaya himself and his son and successor, Aditya I. It reflects the author's great enthusiasm for the subject and his sustained interest in it.

The fine get-up of the book, the carefully-chosen and well-executed illustrations printed on art-paper, the map, the sketches designed to illustrate architectural terms, and the glossary—all these add greatly to the value of the book.

It is hoped that this book will serve to draw the attention of scholars, art-lovers and the general public to these mostly humble but never-to-be-forgotten monuments, and that their beauty and grandeur will come to be appreciated by an ever-increasing circle of lovers of Art.

M. Bhaktavatsalam

Chief Minister, Madras

Fort St. George
Madras
December 27, 1965

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Introduction

It is proposed to present in this book and in a successor volume a scientific survey of the temples of the Early Chola period, which term is used, as in my *Four Chola Temples*, to cover the reigns of the Chola rulers of the Vijayalaya line till the accession of Rajaraja I, that is, the period A.D. 850 to 985. This is a phase of South Indian art which has not so far received the attention that it merits. It is only very recently that the Archaeological Survey of India have undertaken the project, "Temple Survey of South India", and only one volume thereon (relating to the Pallava cave-temples of South India) has been brought out so far. The unrelenting march of time, the hand of the vandal, the callousness with which speculators and relic-hunters have stripped some of the temples of priceless artistic pieces, and the ignorant though well-meaning and pious renovator—all these have caused irremediable damage and even destruction to these ancient monuments which form such an impressive record of the past. This volume attempts to present, from out of the wreckage of the past, at least a small part of "the pageant of resurrected time".

In the course of my researches on Chola art during nearly forty years, I have compiled *inter alia* a mass of data on the Early Chola temples, most of which are off the beaten track. I have published accounts of only a few of these, scattered over various journals devoted to Oriental studies. In this volume and its successor, an attempt will be made to present a comprehensive account of these monuments.

Mostly on account of ignorance, lack of scientific study and the paucity of printed materials on the subject, erroneous and fantastic views have often been expressed about

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Dravidian monuments. Thus, during his first world tour, Lord Curzon " found difficulty in adjusting his aesthetic standards to the bizarre and unintelligible features of Dravidian art ". " The workmanship of the temples, " according to him, " was everywhere a miracle of elaboration and a prodigy of ugliness ". His biographer Lord Ronaldshay, however, corrected this hasty view and wrote that Lord Curzon " would perhaps have been less scathing in his condemnation if he had realized the symbology of Hindu philosophy and religion, the sculptuary of the temple, much that was not apparent to the uninstructed mind. " Later on, when Lord Curzon came back to India as Viceroy, his views underwent a change. In a speech before the Imperial Legislative Council, he confessed: " As a pilgrim at the shrine of beauty, I have visited them (the historic remains), but as a priest in the temple of beauty have I charged myself with their reverential custody and their studious repair. " During his tenure of office as the Viceroy of India, he rendered invaluable service to Indian archaeology. It was under his inspiration and leadership that the work initiated by Alexander Cunningham in an earlier period was taken up again by Sir John Marshall as the first Director-General of Archaeology in India.

Again, reviewing the work of Burgess on Indian and Eastern architecture, James Fergusson expressed the following view in regard to South Indian monuments: " Hitherto the great difficulty in the case of Dravidian temples has been that the temples of South India have almost all been found to be of so modern a date. The great building age there was the 16th and 17th centuries of our era. Some structural buildings could be traced back to the 11th and 12th centuries with certainty, but, beyond that, all was, to a great extent, conjecture. " Even a contemporary Indian scholar holds the view that the temples of South India are " comparatively not so ancient. " I venture to believe that the present survey will help to

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dispel and correct such erroneous notions on the subject.

Like all other sciences, Archaeology is a jealous mistress and I could not give the subject my full and undivided attention for a long time. It was only in the last five years that I could round off my earlier studies by visits to a few more of the temples in the company of my friends, Douglas Barrett of the British Museum, and Madhuri Desai and Soli Batlivala of the Bhulabhai Desai Memorial Institute, Bombay. As a result, I have been able to compile an account of more than a hundred temples which could, on literary, epigraphical and stylistic grounds, be assigned to the period preceding the accession of Rajaraja I. It is earnestly hoped that this survey will stimulate further and more elaborate studies in the field.

I believe that historical monuments must be studied, not in isolation but in their proper setting, in relation to the spiritual, economic, social and political life and values of the people who created them and those who fostered them over the centuries.

The book begins with a brief account of the evolution of temples during the Sangam Age and during the Pallava period. Its main concern, however, is with the temples which can be ascribed to the period of the first two rulers of the Vijayalaya line, namely Vijayalaya himself and his son Aditya I, whether these temples were Chola foundations (as most of them are) or were those of the contemporary dynasties such as the Gangas, Banas, Nolambas, Vaidumbas and the later Pallavas. (The successor-volume will deal with the period from the accession of Parantaka I to that of Rajaraja I, that is, the period A.D. 907 to 985.) The account of each temple deals with its geographical setting, identification and description. The book concludes with a historical survey tracing the chronological development of the temples during the period.

The manuscript of the present work was complete even by the time of publication of my *Four Chola Temples*,

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published under the auspices of the Bhulabhai Desai Memorial Trust, Bombay. Its publication was held up for want of suitable illustrations. The authorities of the French Institute of Indology at Pondicherry have helped me liberally supplement my collection of illustrations. I am greatly indebted to its Director, Dr. Jean Filliozat, and the Chief of its Archaeology Section, Sri P. Z. Pattabiramin, for this help.

I have had the benefit of the typescript of my book being read and commented upon by my friends Douglas Barrett, T. G. Aravamudan and R. Nagaswamy. My friend, E. S. Mahalingam, and others very near to me have given me valuable assistance on the technical aspects of the publication, and my best thanks are due to them. I must record a special word of thanks to Sri M. H. Patwardhan of the Sangam Press, Poona, for the excellent get-up of the book, and Sri Kadav of Shankar & Co. for the quality blocks made by them. I am obliged to Sri P. S. Jayasinghe and Sri Samuel Israel of Asia Publishing House, Bombay, for their interest in this publication.

The Madras State Government, under the progressive and enlightened leadership of Sri M. Bhaktavatsalam, the Chief Minister, have helped me in many ways, and above all by making available to me a generous financial grant towards the cost of the publication. They have also agreed to publish a Tamil version of the book under the auspices of the Bureau of Tamil Publications, for which gesture I am grateful. I am deeply appreciative of the kindness of Sri M. Bhaktavatsalam in writing the Foreword to this book.

Madras
26th January 1966

S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAM

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107. Kambadahalli, Panchakuta-basti (Jaina), Shrine with square *sikhara.*

108. Kambadahalli, Panchakuta-basti (Jaina), Shrine with bulbous *sikhara.*

109. Kambadahalli, Panchakuta-basti (Jaina), Shrine with octagonal *sikhara.*

110. Rajakesari Inscriptions at :
   (a) Tillaisthanam.
   (b) Tiruppalanam.
   (c) Tirukkalukkunram.

111. Sivapuram, Nataraja.

112. Pallavanesvaram, Skanda and Uma.

113. Kilakkadu, Nataraja.

115. Tandantottam, Nataraja.

114. Tittagudi, Subrahmanya.

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I The Village Gods of South India

The worship of village-gods is the most ancient form of the beliefs, customs and practices of the primitive tribes prevalent in South India, as in the case of other similar ancient cultures in Western Asia, in the transition period from the nomadic to the pastoral and the agricultural phases of life.

Most of the *grama-devatas* (village-deities) are conceived of not as supreme cosmic powers, but only as local deities with jurisdiction limited to the village concerned. The fertility-cult and the predominant role of women in an agricultural economy were perhaps responsible for most of these deties (except Ayyanar and some of the guardian-deities) being regarded as female.

Ayyanar (pl. 1-a), also known variously as Arya, Hariharaputra, Ayyappan and Sasta, is regarded as the guardian-deity of the village, protecting it and warding off evil spirits. His shrine—generally found in a grove on the outskirts of the village—is surrounded by burnt-clay figures of horses on which He and His attendants are supposed to ride during their nocturnal vigils.

Pidari (Bhatari) (pl. 2-a) is the archetype of the female village-deities. She is regarded as the guardian-deity protecting the people against evil spirits and especially epidemics like the cholera. She is known by various names. Kali (The Dark One), with power over Death, is protectress against evil spirits and wild beasts. She is later integrated with Durga or Mahishasuramardini. Human and animal sacrifices were offered to Her. There are a number of Pallava sculptures of Durga flanked by devotees in a head-offering posture. *Mariyamman* is the goddess of small-pox and other epidemics. Her name is perhaps derived from that of Mara, the God of Death as His

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female counterpart. When epidemics break out in a village, buffaloes and sheep are offered as sacrifices to appease Her. *Selliyamman*, *Draupadi* and *Angalamman* are the other names of this important goddess. To my knowledge, there are extant today in South India three *saptamatrika* shrines—the Selliyamman temple at Alambakkam, the Vakra-Kali shrine at Tiruvakkarai, and the Selliyamman temple at Velachcheri. These are small *ekatala* (one-tier) stone-shrines, which could be assigned to the late Pallava or early Chola times.

Minnadiyan (Mun-Adiyan) and *Madurai-Veeran* are male guardian-deities attendant on the *grama-devatas*, *Karuppan* (Kala) is sometimes worshipped separately. At the Alagiriswami temple near Madurai, He is regarded as the guardian of the eighteen steps in the compound of the temple and as the custodian of the key of the temple-treasury.

In addition to these *devatas*, the people worshipped serpents and the deities supposed to preside over the arts and crafts, and appeased the spirits of ancestors, of those who had had violent or untimely deaths, and of boundary-stones, hills, rivers, forests and trees.

The shrines of these village-deities were humble brick-buildings with thatch—rarely of stone—under the shade of spreading trees in the village-common. Sometimes there was within the shrine only a rough figure carved in bas-relief on a small stone. In some places, the shrine was simply a rough stone-platform under a tree with stones or iron spikes stuck on it to represent the deity. Some times a large rough stone served both as the shrine and as the image. These shrines were humble structures with no pretensions to be ranked as architecture.

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2 Temple Evolution in the Tamil Country during the Sangam age

The existence of temples in South India during the "Sangam Age" is borne out by literature. These early temples must have been built of perishable materials like brick, wood and thatch ("*Sudu-man ongiya nedunilaikkottam*"—'the tall temple built of burnt bricks').

The early Tamil classics also mention architects (*nul ari pulavar*), who knew the art of temple-building and were well-versed in *silpa-sastras* (*nul*). The *Nedu-nal-vadai*, one of the "Ten Idylls" (*Pattuppattu*), mentions the construction of buildings religious and secular (*Manai vaguttu*: ll. 76-79), and the commentator suggests that the *silpa-sastra* followed was *Mayamatha:* perhaps this *sastra* was favoured by the Tamils at least during the days of the commentator.

A post-Sangam work, the *Silappadikaram*, mentions sky-scrapers jostling with the clouds, built by skilled architects (*nulor sirappin muhil toy madam*: ll. 97-98).

Tamil is the oldest and the best evolved of the Dravidian languages, and it should have had a long period of oral tradition before writing came into vogue. Among the Sangam classics, we may mention *Purananuru*, *Pattuppattu* and *Paripadal*, which may be assigned to the period of about 500 years between B.C. 250 and A.D. 250. It is likely that many poems were sung and only orally preserved for a long time, and later compiled into anthologies and edited for posterity under the patronage of kings and eminent scholars. The existence of the art of writing before the 3rd century B.C. is still a matter of speculation, as the earliest inscriptions in the Tamil land, found on the beds of natural caverns or rock-cut caves, are in the Tamil language and in the Brahmi script with

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special letters for distinctively Tamil sounds. T. A. Gopinatha Rao held the view that all Southern Indian scripts including *vatteluttu* should have evolved from the Brahmi script of Asokan days; and he gives an eye-copy of the earliest known Tamil inscription at Tirunathankunru near Gingee (Travancore Archaeological Series No. XIV, pp. 201-231).

Temples Sangam age

Purananuru : The *Purananuru* is a collection of 400 poems, dealing with wars, kings and polity.

Puram No. 1 is a hymn addressed to Siva, who is described as wearing a garland of *konrai* flowers (*Cassia fistula*) and the crescent, as *Ardhanari* with his Consort Uma embodied on His left side (pl. 2-b), with the bull as His vehicle, and with His throat blackened by poison. He is adored by men learned in the Vedas and by the *ganas*.

Puram No. 6 is in praise of the famous Pandya king "*Palyagasalai Mudukudumi Peruvaludi*". It refers to a *temple* built in honour of the three-eyed Lord Siva (*mukkatselvan nagar*, *nagar* meaning a shrine or temple).

Puram No. 55 describes Siva as *Tripurantaka*, the destroyer of the three *asuras* and their fortresses in order to bestow grace on the *devas*.

Puram No. 56 is more significant and illustrative of the religious ethos of the Sangam age. It is a poem in praise of the Pandyan king *Nan Maran*. It mentions Siva, described as possessing the bull, the *parasu* (axe) and the poison-holding throat; Balarama, with the plough as His weapon and the palmyra palm on His flag; *Venri-veyyon* (the Lover of Victory) with the *Garuda* flag (*Vishnu*); and *Seyyon* (the red-hued) with the elephant (*pini-mukham*) as His vehicle (Murugan or Kartikeya or Subrahmanya). This poem clearly reveals the tolerance of spirit of the followers of different faiths in the society of those times. It seems that by this time Siva and Muruga of the Tamil land had become integrated with Rudra and Kartikeya, the Vedic and Puranic gods of the Aryans. Mayon or

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Vishnu (later identified with Krishna) is mentioned invariably in association with His elder brother Balarama.

Puram No. 91 mentions the blue-throated One, Siva (*nilamani midarru oruvan*).

Pattuppattu: Pattinappalai: Another anthology of longer poems is the *Pattuppattu* ("The Ten Idylls"), one of which is the *Pattinappalai.* It was sung in honour of the early Chola king *Karikalan* alias *Tirumavalavan.* It contains a beautiful description of *Puhar* or *Kaverippattinam,* the capital and sea-port of the early Cholas. The spacious market-place in Puhar is said to have been adorned with the flags of the different deities housed in shrines, of whom special mention is made of *Sevvel* (the 'red-hued': Kartikeya). There is also reference to the never-ending festivals conducted in them, accompanied by fervid folk-dances and music, vocal and instrumental.

In the same poem, the Chola king is also said to have expanded and restored the ancient glory of the old Chola capital of Urandai (Uraiyur, near Tiruchy) and further adorned it with temples. The main gateway to the fort is said to have been decorated with an image of *Tiru* (Lakshmi) (ll.150-160 and ll. 281-286 of the poem).

Mullaippattu : The *Mullaippattu,* another of the "Ten Idylls", describes Mal (or Tirumal or Vishnu) as wielding *sanku* and *chakram* and as having *Sri* on His chest (ll. 1-3). There is also reference to Vishnu's incarnation as *Trivikrama.* He is described as having grown tall when water was poured into His hands by Mavali (Mahabali) at the time of the latter's grant of the gift of three foot-lengths of earth.

Perumpanarruppadai : Another poem of the "Ten Idylls" is the *Perumpanarruppadai.* This poem mentions how, at *Tiruvehha* in Kanchipuram, Vishnu assumed the form of Seshasayee or Vishnu on the Serpent-couch, and the four-headed Brahma is represented on a lotus whose stalk shoots up from Vishnu's navel (ll. 373 and 402-4).

Maduraikkanchi : This is yet another of the " Ten

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Idylls ". It describes the evening service, with oblations and music, to the deities enshrined in the city of Madurai, headed by Siva, Who is described as the wielder of the axe, the Creator of the Five Elements and of other gods, *Mayon* and *Muruga* among them (*uru-kelu-periyor*), who wear garlands which fade not and whose eyes wink not (ll. 453-460).

Tirumurugarruppadai: This is the first of the "Ten Idylls" in the redaction of this anthology, but critics are disposed to place it among the later strata of the Sangam poems, along with another Sangam anthology called the *Paripadal*. It deals with the glory of Muruga, the patron-deity of the Tamils. Six of His places of abode are mentioned. Called *padaividu*, they are located at Tirupparankunram near Madurai, Tiruch-chirralai-voy (Tiruch-chendil or Tiruch-chendur) at the south-eastern edge of the Peninsula washed by the sea, Tiruvavinankudi (Palani), Tiruverakam (some identify it with Swamimalai in Tanjavur District), various hillocks where He dwells (*Kunru-toradal*), and Palamudir Solai identified with Alagarmalai near Madurai.

In the section on Tirupparankunram, Muruga is described as the Lord of Indra's daughter Devasena, as the red-hued (*Sey*), as the wielder of the lance and as the destroyer of Sura (ll. 45-46 and 57-61). In that on Tiruch-chirralai-voy, He is described as a deity with six faces and twelve hands, with particulars of their respective functions. In that on Tiruvavinankudi, He is glorified as the Supreme Power. He is said to have humbled the pride of Brahma. As a result of Muruga's wrath, the work of creation, preservation and destruction came to a dead stop; but, at the prayers of Siva, Vishnu, Indra and other gods, Brahma's original powers of creation were restored. This scene is laid in this abode of Muruga. The elephant (*pini-mukham*) is described as His vehicle and there is a clear reference to a *temple* (*nagar:* l. 238) of Muruga on this hillock. Muruga is also described as the son of Siva, Who has the bull-flag, Who is Ardhanari and Tripurantaka (ll. 151-154).

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Paripadal: This is a later anthology among the Sangam classics. It contains poems set to music and was meant to be sung to different tunes. In addition to the description of the valley of the river Vaigai flowing near Madurai and of the life led by the people in this region, it contains elaborate descriptions of Muruga at Tirupparankunram and of Vishnu at *Tirumal Irunjolai* (also known as *Irundaiyur*).

Tirumal (*Vishnu*): In poem No. 3 (ll. 80-82) of this anthology, there is a reference to the manifestation of Vishnu as the Supreme Power revealed in His four *vyuha* forms. They are called *Sangatkari* (Vasudeva), *Karunkanvellai* (Sankarshana), *Ponkatpachai* (Kama or Pradyumna) and *Painkanmal* (Aniruddha).

In northern India, we find that the *vyuha* phase of Vishnu preceded the *avatar* phase. The Gosundi inscription of about B.C. 200 mentions a temple dedicated to Sankarshana and Vasudeva; and the Garudadhvaja pillar at Besnagar in Central India (about B.C. 150) is said to have been erected for Vasudeva by the Greek ambassador Heliodorus of Taxila. The *Paripadal* has to be assigned to about the period of the *Christian* era. And it is passing strange how cultural ideas break barriers of distance and manifest themselves in far-off parts of our vast country. Such is also the case with Art.

Tirumal is described in a number of poems of the anthology (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 13, 15, and the epilogue). In these, He is described as having the *Kaustubha* and *Lakshmi* on his chest, and as wearing the *pitambaram* (silk-garment) and the *vanamala* (garland of *tulsi*). His flag bears the *Garuda* crest. He wields the *sankha*, *chakra*, *gada*, and bow and arrows. He wears the *makuta* (jewelled crown). He is described as the progenitor of Brahma (seated on a lotus shooting up from His navel) and of Kama. His manifestations as *Adi-varaha* (the *avatar* of Boar) Who rescued the world from the deluge, as Nrsimha Who overthrew Hiranya-kasipu to protect His devotee Prahlada, and as Seshasayee in Yogic Sleep on the snake, are described.

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Wherever Tirumal is described, His elder brother *Balarama* is also invariably mentioned. Balarama is described as having the plough as His weapon and the palmyra-palm on His flag.

One poem describes that Tirumal could be recognised as an *image* by those who rely on the senses (the naked eye), as the *yajna-fire* by Vedic scholars, as one present in the hearts of *yogis*, and as one present everywhere to the sages. Thus the iconographic aspect of this deity is established.

Sevvel (*Muruga*): Sevvel, the red-hued Lord beloved of all, is described in a large number of poems in this anthology (Nos. 5, 8, 9, 14, 17, 18, 19 and 21). He is described as the offspring of Siva born in the lake of Saravana and brought up by the Krittikas. Soon after His birth, He showed His valour by splitting asunder the *kraundha* hill with His *vel* (lance). He destroyed Sura, the *asura* who stood in the sea in the form of a mango tree. He also overcame Indra, and, in admiration of His valour, Indra gave his daughter Devasena in marriage to Him. Agni gave Him the cock, Indra the peacock, and Yama the goat.

It is stated that Tirumal, Siva, Brahma, the twelve Adityas, the eleven Rudras, the eight Vasus, the two Asvins, the eight *dikpalas* and other *devas*, *asuras* and sages came to Tirupparankunram to have His *darsan*. He had the elephant as His vehicle, His abode was at the foot of the *kadamba* tree, and He wore a garland of *kadamba* flowers. He was the beloved of Valli, born of the deer and foster-daughter of foresters. He loved folk-dances.

Thus, it is clear that this picture represents the period when the Tamils exalted Muruga as the Supreme Deity of the heavenly pantheon, the God of Gods.

Tolkappiyam: This is the *standard grammar* for the Sangam literature. In this work, the land is divided into four chief geographical natural regions: *Mullai*, *Kurinji*, *Marutam* and *Neydal*, and their respective guardian-deities are given as Mayon (Vishnu), Seyon (Muruga), Vendan (Indra) and Varunan. Durgai is to be assigned to the

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Palai region.

Silappadikaram: The *Silappadikaram* is one of the grandest of the Tamil epics. Scholars differ as to the age of its composition. It should be considered as a *post-Sangam* work, composed between the close of the Sangam age (*circa* 3rd century A.D.) and the Kalabhra interregnum which may be placed at the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century A.D.

The first portion of this grand epic is called the *Puhar-kandam*. In the fifth section thereof, there is a fine description of the celebration of the Indra festival at Puhar (*Kaverippattinam*). It is mentioned that at the same time worship was offered to various deities housed in the temples in the city (ll. 169-179). Among the temples mentioned are those of *Mahadeva* Who is free from birth, of *Sevvel* (the red-hued: Muruga) Who has six faces, of *Baladeva* with complexion like the white conch, of *Nediyon* the blue-hued (Vishnu), of *Indra* Who wears a necklace of pearls and holds a peerless white umbrella, and of *Brahma* (*Mamudu-mudalvar*).

Section 9 of this epic deals with the evil dream dreamt by Kannaki. Incidentally, the temples in Puhar under worship are mentioned. Among these are the temples of the *Kalpaka* tree, of *Airavata*, of *Baladeva*, of *Surya*, of *Kailasa*, of *Muruga-vel*, of *Vajra* (Indra's weapon), of *Satavahana* (Sasta or Harihara-putra or Ayyanar) and of *Chandra*, in addition to Buddhist and Jaina shrines (Section 9, ll. 9-13).

Section 11: *Kadu kan katai*: *ll.* 35-51: After the break in the fortunes of Kovalan, it was decided that he and Kannaki should leave Puhar and go to Madurai. They were joined on the way by a Jaina ascetic. Continuing their journey, they met with a Brahman from the Pandya country. On enquiry, they were told that the main object of his journey was to see and worship Vishnu sleeping on His thousand-hooded serpent-couch in the island of *Tiru-Arangam* (Srirangam) lying between the two branches

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of the Kaveri, as well as the standing figure of Vishnu on the lofty hill of Tiruvengadam (Tiruppati) bearing the *Sankha* and the *Chakra* in His hands.

Section 12: *Vettuvavari* : ll. 16-17; 42-46; *and* 54-74: On their way to Madurai, the three stay in a temple dedicated to *Ayyai* (Vana-durga) worshipped by the foresters. Durga is described as having the deer with the twisted horn as Her vehicle. [A sculpture answering to this description is found in the Govt. Museum, Madras (pl. 1-b).] Her worship consisted in the offering of flowers, incense and cooked food. She stood on the severed head of Mahishasura. She was one who had bent the bow with the snake Vasuki as its string. She had tusks, and a snake as Her breast-band; She carried the *sula;* She covered Her body with the elephant's skin, and wore the tiger's skin as *mekhala* (waist-band). She was the left-half of Siva and the bestower of victory in battle (*korravai*).

Section 17 : *Achiyar kuravai* : While Kovalan had gone into the city of Madurai to sell his wife's anklet, Kannaki was staying on in the hut of a shepherd in its suburbs. The women-folk saw evil omens, and, to ward off their evil effects, they got up a dance-recital similar to the folk-dance conducted at Ayarpadi by Kannan (Krishna), Balaraman and Pinnai. This section of the work contains beautiful descriptions of the exploits of Vishnu in his *avatars*, especially those of Rama and Krishna. The churning of the ocean of milk with Meru as the churn-staff and the snake Vasuki as the rope; the cutting off of the *kurunda* tree; the stealing of the *sarees* of the *Gopis* of Ayarpadi; Yasoda's binding the mischievous Child Krishna with a rope, and His swallowing the worlds "even when not hungry"; the stealing of butter from the homes of the Gopis; the bestriding of the three worlds with His two feet (as Vamana later changed into Trivikrama); Krishna's mission of peace to Duryodhana on behalf of the Pandavas; Vishnu assuming the form of Nrsimha (man-lion) to destroy the evil-doer; the destruction of Ravana's Lanka;

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and the overthrow of Kamsa — these are expressed in some of the finest of Tamil lyrics, indeed of any language, by any standard.

Section 28 : *Nadukal Katai* : *ll* 222–34 : This section deals with the construction of a temple to Kannaki after her deification as *Pattini-devi*, the goddess of Chastity, by the Chera king Senguttuvan. The stone for the image was brought from the Himalayas after having been bathed in the Ganga. Then the king secured the services of the learned priest, the astrologer, and the architect well-versed in the art of temple-building, installed and consecrated her image in a temple with *dvarapalas*, a *bali-pitham* and a *mandapa;* and made gifts of jewels and ornaments, and provision for its proper worship.

The prologue (*padikam*) mentions that similar temples were built by the Pandya king of Korkai, the Kosar of Kongu, the Chola king Perunkilli of Koli (Uraiyur) and Gajabahu of Ceylon. They are said to have thereby warded off evils like drought, and ushered in an era of plenty and prosperity in their lands.

Thus we have sufficient iconographic descriptions of the various deities worshipped in the Tamil land and there is positive mention of the existence of temples (*nagar* or *kottam*) therein. From the seventh century A.D. onwards, the Pallavas ushered in a great era of temple-building activities in South India, and their work has left an imperishable mark on the artistic achievements of the Tamils and greatly influenced the future.

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3 Temple-Building in the Pallava Age
(A. D. 550-850)

In this chapter, we deal only with the Pallavas of the Simhavishnu line, who have made a substantial contribution to Dravidian art and architecture. Next to the Sangam age, this period witnessed a great renaissance in every sphere of life of the Tamils, especially in literature, religion and art. The rise of the Saivite Nayanmars–Appar, Sambandhar and Sundarar—and of the early Vaishnavite Alvars (up to the time of Tirumangai Alvar of the 8th century) produced a great upsurge and a mass-awakening resulting in the enrichment of the spiritual and moral standards of the life of the people. And the *temple* was the centre of this new efflorescence. From the hymns of the saints who visited and celebrated the temples with their devotional outpourings, we learn that there were at that time in the Tamil country about two hundred and seventy-four Siva temples (190 in the Chola country, 2 in Ceylon, 14 in the Pandya kingdom, 7 in Kongu-nadu, 22 in Nadunadu and 32 in Tondai-nadu—Pallava country), and 108 temples devoted to the worship of Vishnu.

Rock-cut temples : Natural rock-beds and caverns used as shelters by South Indian ascetics, chiefly Jaina and Buddhist, sometimes bearing inscriptions in Brahmi scriptand Tamil language, should be distinguished from well-planned and systematically excavated rock-cut cave-temples. The Pallava king Mahendravarman I is credited with the excavation of rock-cut cave temples for Trimurti (Brahma, Isvara and Vishnu), and these are found in South India from Pallavaram in the north to the borders of the old Pudukkottai State in the south. In passing, it has to be stated that the rock-cut temples found in the Guntur and Nellore districts of Andhra Pradesh should be considered

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as Vishnukundin foundations — not Pallava, as Longhurst held. This work of excavating rocks and creating monolithic temples was carried forward intensively by Narasimhavarman I and his successors till the time of Paramesvaravarman I, and sporadically even later during the times of Dantivarman, Nandivarman III and Nrpatunga. The Paliyilisvaram at Narttamalai belongs to the period of the last-mentioned ruler.

Mamallapuram Rathas

In addition to the cave-temples and rock-sculpture galleries such as Arjuna's penance (or *Ganga-avatarana*), Krishna's *Govardhana*, *Trivikrama* and *Durga* panels at Mamallapuram, there are a fine set of monolithic temples, popularly called *Rathas*. These should be considered as reproductions in stone of specimens of the architectural patterns in less permanent materials which had prevailed earlier, and as prototypes of the later *vimanas*, *mandapas* and *gopuras* of the later Pallava and Chola periods. Every one of them is a gem of art.

The *Draupadi-ratha* is a shrine dedicated to Durga. It is in the shape of a hut, square on plan, belonging to the *sama-chaturasra* type. Its *sikhara* is square and curvilinear in shape, and its corners are adorned with *kodik-karukku*. It is similar to the *kutas* on the upper *talas* of *vimanas*.

The *Arjuna-ratha* is also of the same *chaturasra* variety, with two *talas* and an octagonal bell-shaped *sikhara*.

The *Dharmaraja-ratha* is again of the same type, with the same kind of octagonal *sikhara*, but has three *talas*. The upper *talas* are adorned with *salas* and *kutas*.

The *Nakula-Sahadeva ratha* is of the apsidal order called *gaja-prishta* (*toonganai-madam* in Tamil). It has three *talas* with a wagon-shaped *sikhara*. This is the prototype of the later Pallava and Chola *apsidal* temples such as those at Tiruttani, Tirukkalukkunram (Mulasthana shrine), and Tiruvorriyur.

The *Bhima-ratha* is a rectangular *eka-tala* structure with

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a wagon-shaped *sikhara*. This might have served as a model for the *mandapas* of the future.

The *Ganesa-ratha* is a *dvi-tala* structure, and the most finished of all the *rathas*. It has a fine *gable front*.

Mention should also be made of the two other free-standing structures called the *Pidari* and the *Valayan-kuttai-rathas*, which might have served as models for future temples erected during the early Chola period. The *Valayankuttai ratha* has three *talas*; the two upper *talas* are adorned with *salas* and *kutas*; the *sikhara* resting over the *griva* is square and curvilinear, and it is adorned with *kudus* in the centre at the cardinal points and with *kodik-karukku* along the four edges. The backside of the outer wall of the *garbhagriha* is adorned with a *torana* in the centre with *pancharas* on each side as in the Chola temple at Pullamangai. There are no *devakoshtas*.

Structural temples: It seems highly probable that structural stone temples came to be built even from the 7th century A. D. onwards. There is of course positive literary evidence for the existence in South India of brick temples from early times, and epigraphy testifies to the reconstruction with stone of many earlier brick-temples. But, unfortunately, there is not sufficient evidence to prove that structural stone temples came to be built even before the days of Rajasimha *alias* Narasimhavarman II.

There are four pillars inscribed with the *birudas* of Mahendravarman I and of the same style of ornamentation as is found in his temples elsewhere. They formed part of a *mandapa* called the *Paurnima mandapa*, now no longer in existence, near the thousand-pillared hall of the Ekamranatha temple at Kanchipuram. These pillars are now preserved at the gateway of the Government Museum at Madras. They are parts of a structural temple built during the days of Mahendravarman I.

Further, in the Okkappirandan Kulam Street, Kanchipuram, a stone *lintel* was discovered, bearing the name of a temple built there, namely, the *Sri Mahendravar-*

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mesvargraiham (pl. 3-a,b,c). This label is in *Pallava-grantha* script and has to be assigned to the age of Mahendravarman I. These two bits of evidence clearly prove the existence of structural temples even during the days of Mahendravarman I. But we are unable to say definitely whether they were pure structural *stone* temples (*karrali*) or were of the *misra* type—built of brick *and* stone.*

There is epigraphical reference to the construction of two structural temples durign the regin of Paramesvaravarman I. At Sirrambakkam in the Chingleput District, a slab on the steps of the Selliyamman temple mentions the construction of a temple by a private individual in the 1st year of Maharaja Paramesvaravarman I (A. D. 670) The Kuram copper-plate grant of Paramesvaravarman I (SII Vol. I, pp. 144 ff.) mentions the construction of the temple of *Vidyavinita Pallava Paramesvara.* As there is provision in the grant for the making of bricks, it should have been either a brick temple or one of the *misra* (mixed) type.

But we are on safe ground when we come to the age of Rajasimha. He was the builder of many structural *stone-temples.* Chief among them are the *Kailasanatha* temple at Kanchipuram (pl. 4), the shore-temple at Mamallapuram, and the Talapurisvara temple at Panamalai. The *Piravatana-Isvara* temple and the *Iravatana-Isvara* temple at Kanchipuram should be considered temples in "*Rajasimha style*" (see *Lalit Kala*, Bombay, Nos. 3 and 4, pp. 63-66 and the illustrations found therein).

The lofty pyramidal *vimana* of many storeys over the *garbhagriha*, the sub-shrines, the *ardha-mandapa*, the walls of enclosure, the *Nandimandapa*, and the embryonic *gopura* were well-established in this period.

During the days of Nandivarman II, the Vishnu temple of Vaikuntha-Perumal at Kanchi was built. It has a three-

* See S.I.I.XII. No. 14 : No. 82 of 1921; Plate XXII of Dubreuil's *Palala Antiquities*, Vol. I; South Indian Epigraphical Report 1932-33, Part II, Para 2 of Page 54; and S.I.I. XII, No. 31; Venkatasubbiar's view on this record cannot be accepted.

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storeyed *vimana*, with all the adjuncts of a temple well-integrated. The Muktesvara, the Matangesvara and the Tripurantakesvara temples were humbler structures built in the same period.

The latest of the surviving Pallava temples is the Virattanesvara temple at Tiruttani. It is built entirely of stone. The *vimana* is apsidal and the *sikhara is* wagon-roof-shaped. There are five *devakoshtas*, housing Ganesa-Dakshinamurti, Vishnu, Brahma and Durga. Though the shrines for the *Parivara-devatas* are now no longer in existance, there is a complete set of the *saptamatrika* group which can be definitely assigned to this period. This is the finest of the existing Pallava temples of the latest phase. From this, we pass on to the glorious period of the Cholas which marks the heyday of Dravidian art and architecture.

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4 Origin and Kinds of Temples

Temples should have had different origins. Some of the earliest temples are found near the sea, on the hill-tops, on the banks of sacred tanks or of holy rivers, or at junctions of main rivers with their tributaries. It was believed that the godly element was actively at work in places of natural beauty. The *Sthalavrkshas* (sacred trees of the temple) are reminiscent of the association of trees with the old temples. The *Tillai* (*Excoecaria Agallocha*) of Chidambaram, the *Amra* (mango) at the Ekamranatha at Kanchi, the *Al* (banyan) at Kilappaluvur, Pullamangai and other places, the *Marudu* of Tiruvidaimarudur and the *Jambu* of Tiruvanaikka near Srirangam are some examples of temples housed, in the past, under the shade of these trees. Tirukkadalmallai (Mamallapuram) and Vedaranyam are places on important bathing ghats on the sea coast. Tiruverumbur and Tirukkalukkunram have temples on sacred hill-tops. Tirupparaitturai is situated on the bathing ghat on the banks of the undivided Kaveri, Srirangam and Tiruvanaikka at the head of the delta where the Kollidam (Coleroon) branches off from the parent river, the Kaveri.

Some temples were built, thanks to the patronage of kings, nobles and private philanthropists who had a religious bent of mind. There are some temples named after kings in whose reign or under whose patronage they were erected. The chief of them are: the Nisumbhasudani temple at Tanjavur established by Vijayalaya and the Vijayalaya Cholisvaram built in Narttamalai in his days; the Aditya bhattaraka at Tiruverumbur in the period of Aditya I; the temples of Gramam and Tirunamanallur named after Rajaditya, the son of Parantaka I; the Siva and Vishnu temples built at Viranarayana-Chaturvedimangalam,

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a creation of Parantaka I; the Muvarkoyil temple built by Bhuti Vikramakesari at Kodumbalur; the Umamahesvara temple at Tirunallam alias Konerirajapuram, and the Kailasanathasvami temple at Sembiyan Mahadevi, built by the queen of Gandaraditya, Sembiyan Mahadevi.

Five of the most famous temples of South India are consecrated to the worship of the *pancha-bhutas*. Some other temples have grown out of the popular belief of the association of some places with the legendary exploits of Puranic heroes and with the heroic deeds of Siva and Vishnu. There are in South India eight famous Siva temples popularly associated with the exploits of Siva. They are known as the *Ashtha-Virattana* temples. Tirukkandiyur is supposed to be the place where Siva cut off the fifth head of Brahma. Kilur in South Arcot is associated with the overthrow of Andhakasura, and Tirukkadaiyur with the humbling of Yama. Arjuna, the hero of the Mahabharata, is connected with the temple of Vijayamangai at Govindaputtur on the banks of the Kollidam (Coleroon) (No. 255, *Siva-sthala-manjari*).

There are also a number of memorial (sepulchral) tomb-temples called *pallippadai* or *samadhi-koyil*. The earliest epigraphical reference to the building of a *pallippadai* is found in an inscription of the 8th year of Vijaya Kampavarman (A. D. 886) from Solapuram (429 of 1902 and *Ep. Ind.* vii, p. 193). It mentions that Rajaditya, a member of the *Gangeya-vamsa* and a subordinate Chief under Pallava Vijayakampa (varman), built a memorial Siva *temple* and a *tomb* in memory of his deceased father Prithvigangaraiyar. This inscription is bilingual. The Sanskrit part gives a part of the genealogy of the *Gangas* descended from Kongunivarman, and the Tamil part records that Rajaditya built a *pallippadai* Siva temple in memory of his father and a *tomb* where his mortal remains were interred. Here are the relevant lines:

"Ko *Visaya Kamparkku* Yandu ettavadu *Prithivigangaraiyar atitar ayina pirppadu* tat putra *Rajadityan Mahadevan*

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tam appanarai *pallipadutta vidattu Isvar – alayamum atita graramum* (grihamum ?) edipittu Kandu (ndu) Sevittan."

The use of the expression *pallipadutta-vidattu* is significant. It means the place where the dead was laid to eternal rest—a tomb where the bones of the dead were buried. It seems to have been the practice to bury the dead in a *tomb* and also erect a memorial *temple* in memory of the dead. (The *Ramayana* of Valmiki mentions the '*Smasana Chaitya*'.)

Other important examples are the *pallippadai* temples built by Parantaka I in honour of Aditya I or Kodandaraman alias Tondaiman – Arrur – Tunjina Udaiyar at Tondaimanad, and that of 'Arrur – Tunjina Devar' alias Arinjaya at Melpadi built by Rajaraja I in his 29th regnal year (A. D. 1014) in memory of his grand-father Arinjaya who died at Arrur–which name seems to refer to Melpadi itself, on the banks of the *Niva* or *Ponni* river.

"Arrur Tunjina Devarkku pallipadaiyaha Sri Rajaraja devar edippittarulina Tiru – Arinjigai – Isvaram".

The Devaraja Cult in Indo-China and Indonesia:

In an excellent guide-book on Angkor, George Coedes has devoted two chapters (Nos. 3 and 4) to the institution in Cambodia similar to that of *pallippadai* prevalent in South India. He holds that the great majority of the statues of Siva, Vishnu, Buddha and other deities found in Cambodia were really representations of kings, princes and other dignitaries in the form of the gods into whom they expected to be absorbed at the end of their earthly existence. The "royal essence" was supposed to reside in a *linga*, or a statue of Siva, Vishnu or Buddha. What the body was to a person while alive, that the temple became after the lifetime, namely, the architectural abode of the God-king. The communion between the king and the god took place through the mediation of a priest on the sacred mountain in the centre of the capital. The *devaraja* became the palladium of the kingdom. And this custom prevailed in Cambodia from about the 9th century A.D. (if not earlier) to at least the end of the 12th century A.D.

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But, on account of the despoliation of the monuments by treasure-hunters, Coedes was unable to establish beyond doubt if the corpse was interred, or if, as in modern Cambodia and Thailand, the ashes or bones were enclosed in an urn after cremation and the urn deposited in a *pagoda*. However, he concludes that the monuments from the time of Jayavarman VII were *temples* as well as *tombs*, and ends by saying that "Angkor Wat was the final habitation of a being who enjoyed certain divine prerogatives during his life, and whom death had transformed into a god. It was a *funerary temple*".

The epigraphical evidence in South India confirms such a conclusion. The Solapuram inscription of the 9th century (about A.D. 886) mentions clearly both an *Isvara-alayam* (temple) and an *atita-griham* (tomb) (*Epigraphia Indica*, VII, No. 26, p. 193). Usually such funerary temples were erected over the places of burial of the mortal remains of ascetics, saints and sages. One of the latest and most popular of such funerary temples in South India is that of the great musician-saint Tyagaraja, on the banks of the river Kaveri at Tiruvaiyaru in Tanjavur District.

We know that the cultural drift was generally from India to South-East Asia. But we do not know whether the *personality* or *devaraja* cult had an earlier common origin or was an outflow from India or had an independent parallel development in the two regions. We have to suspend judgment till such time as we get more light on this question, and, meanwhile, rest satisfied with the knowledge that similar cults were in existence more or less in the same period in the lands bordering on both sides of the Bay of Bengal, though the *devaraja* cult of South-East Asia had its own peculiar development, with individualistic features of its own.

Another class of temples is what is called the *Panchayatana* temple — a temple for the worship of the five deities: Ganapati, Parvati, Surya, Vishnu and Siva. *Panchayatana-puja* is common in orthodox Brahman homes.

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As applied to temples, their features seem to be the installation of the main deity, Siva, in the centre and the other deities at the four corners of the main shrine — all on one platform within the same *prakara*. The earliest known temple of this class is the 'Dasa-avatara' temple at Deogarh; only the basements of the four subsidiary shrines are found there now, and it is not possible to know what deities occupied those shrines in this professedly Vaishnavite temple. There are other temples of this class at Khajuraho — Lakshmana, Devi-Jagadambi and Visvanatha temples. The Brahmesvara temple at Bhuvanesvar is another Panchayatana temple. At Sinnar (18 miles from Nasik) we have a fine Panchayatana temple of the 12th century in a tolerably well-preserved condition. All the original deities of the four shrines in the *prakara* — Ganesa, Parvati, Surya and Vishnu — and the Siva *linga* in the central shrine are intact. These *four shrines* of the Panchayatana temple should be considered different from the *Ashtha-parivara-devatalayas* (eight sub-shrines) of the Pallava and Chola times.

Southeast of the Muvarkoyil at Kodumbalur, there are the ruins of an old temple. On a common plinth, there are traces of a central shrine with four subsidiary shrines at the corners on the same platform. Unfortunately, only the basements and a few wrecks are found. But it seems to be a Panchayatana temple — the only one of its kind so far known to us in South India.

On the southwest of the Airavatesvara temple at Nemam (Niyamam), the ancient capital of the Muttaraiyars, there are some ruins of ancient temples. In this area, there is a huge *linga* in the centre with a thousand small *lingas* planted in rows all round. Niyamam is referred to in inscriptions as "*Niyamam* alias *Ayirattali*", the place of a thousand shrines (*tali*—temple or shrine). A little distance away from this group, there is a similar huge *linga* which should have been the centre of a similar group. Such a temple with a group of a thousand *lingas* was perhaps called *Ayirattali*.

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Madakkoyil

This is another kind of temple mentioned in Tamil literature based on the legendary history of Kochchenganan, a Chola king of the late Sangam period (about the 3rd century A. D.). It is said that this Chola king was born as a spider in his previous birth and was even then an ardent devotee of Siva. He used to weave a web every day to serve as a canopy over the *linga* at Tiruvanaikka, so as to prevent the falling of mango leaves on the *linga*. Another equally ardent devotee, an elephant, used to destroy the web and bathe the Lord with the water of the holy Kaveri carried in its trunk. The spider got so vexed with the behaviour of the elephant that he prayed that in his next life he might be born a King so that he could build temples inaccessible to an elephant. The spider is said to have stung the elephant to death and then killed himself. Both were rewarded in accordance with their merits. The spider was born a Chola king in his next life. To await an auspicious hour, his birth was unnaturally delayed, with the result that the child was born with red eyes, hence his name Kochchenganan (the red-eyed king).

After he became king, he is said to have built 70 temples to Siva in fulfilment of a dream about his previous life. The Vaishnava saint Tirumangai Alvar (8th century A. D.), in his Tirunaraiyur hymns, incidentally mentions the fact that Kochchenganan built 70 *madakkoyil* to Isvara. These temples were perhaps built on a high plinth; and the *sanctum* was not on the ground floor but on the first. Even now, we can see a few such temples: at Nalur, Nallur (near Papanasam) and Kivalur (near Nagappattinam, on the way to Sembiyan Mahadevi).* The *Madakkoyil* is another type of temple peculiar to the early Chola age.

*K. A. Nilakanta Sastri identifies the Rajaraja temple at Tanjavur as a *madakkovil* (*The Colas*, 2nd edition, p. 705); J. M. Somasundaram follows suit. I wonder whether this classification is correct.

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5 The Role of the Temple

The Temple is the House of God and a place of worship. It was the most beneficent institution of medieval India, and its activities touched the life of the people at many points, enriching and ennobling their lives. It was chiefly a place of worship offering comfort and solace to the faithful who believed in a good life here below and hoped for salvation in the life to come.

It was a centre of learning. Schools and colleges were located in the temples. Endowments were made to maintain teachers and students in the premises of the temple. Sometimes hostels were attached to temples to attend to the creature comforts of the members of the educational institutions. The library (*Sarasvati Bhandaram*) was housed here, though it should have consisted only of manuscripts patiently inscribed on *cadjan* leaves. Provision was made for the study of the *Vedas*, the *Vedangas*, the *Tiruppadiyam* (*Devaram*) and the *Tiruvoymoli*. There are various gifts made for Vedic and allied studies. Among the many, a few may be mentioned. In the 13th year of Parakesarivarman alias Parantaka I, a gift of land is made as *Chhandogya Kidaippuram* at Kappalur. In the days of Rajakesarivarman Sundara Chola, an endowment was made for holding a competition for awarding a cash prize to the best recitation of *Jaiminiya Samaveda* on the night of the Ardra festival in Margali in the temple at Koyil Tevarayanpettai. Provision was made for the expounding of the *Prabhakara* school of *Mimamsa* at the Nagesvara temple, Kumbakonam. In the 37th year of Parantaka I, a gift of land was made to two Brahmans for chanting the *Tiruppadiyam* thrice daily in the temple at Lalgudy. Another gift of land was made to maintain four singers of *Tiruppadiyam* in the Adityesvara temple at Tiruverumbur, perhaps

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in the days of Sundara Chola. There is one curious inscription at Tiruvamattur (though of a later age-of Kulottunga II), which mentions that *ten blind men* and two *guides* were in charge of the recitation of *Devaram* hymns, and the king is said to have made an additional gift of 12 *velis* of land to increase the strength of the troupe. It is mentioned that a gift was made for the recitation of *Tiruvoymoli* (hymns of the Vaishnavite Alvars) and *Nammalvar Prabandam* at Govindapadi, a suburb of Tirumalpuram.

The temple was the home of music and the fine arts. Music and Dancing were mainly devotional in character, and these were meant to glorify God and sublimate man. At Tiruvidaimarudur, we have an inscription of Parakesarivarman who took the head of the Pandya king, i.e., Aditya II (No. 154 of 1895). It made provision for the enactment of *Aryakkuttu* (Bharata-Natyam?) on seven days. It is stated that, on receipt of the royal order, the officer supervising the affairs of the temple, the *sabha* of Tiraimur, the *nagaram* (merchant-guild) of Tiruvidaimarudil, and the temple–trustees (*devakanmi*s) met in the *Nataka Sala* (hall of dance) and decided that seven dance-recitals be conducted, and that each of the actors receive 14 *kalams* of paddy. Architecture, Sculpture and Painting were mainly intended to serve the ends of religion. Temples were the best and the most enduring of architectural forms of the land and the best artists of the day were employed to make sculptures and paint the walls of temples for the delectation of the devotees and the pilgrims. Temple-festivals attracted crowds and during those celebrations, fairs were held, and dramatic performances, religious and moral discourses, acrobatic feats and other entertainments were provided.

Often kings came to temples to offer their worship. Each king had his favourite tutelary deity (*Kulanayakam*), and such temples received special benefactions. It is said of Parantaka I that he practised many meritorious acts and gifts as the *Hemagarbha* and the *Tulabhara*, and the

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gold or precious stones thus weighed against were given away to the Gods or for the extension or improvement of the temples. The Sundara Varada Perumal temple at Uttaramerur was one of such temples specially so honoured, and consequently it came to be called the *Tulabharat-tali* (the temple where *Tulabhara* was performed). An occasion of such celebrations in temples should have been a red letter day not only in the history of the temple, but also in the life of the people of the locality and its neighbourhood.

Kings came to temples to celebrate their coronation, such halls of coronation were called *Raja-sabhas*. The hundred- and thousand-pillared halls at Chidambaram (built in the period of the later Cholas) were used as coronation halls by Chola and Pandyan kings. Rajaraja I is said to have performed *Tulabhara*, and his queen, *Hemagarbha*; at Tiruvisalur (29th year of Rajaraja I). Sometimes a special coronation ceremony was held to celebrate great victories of kings gained in wars over their enemies (*vijaya-abhisheka*) and also at times when they desired to be recognised and honoured as heroes (*vira-abhishekha*).

Renowned poets and scholars met in the temple-halls to accord their *imprimatur* to the literary work of scholars who sought such recognition: *arangerral*. Such approval was granted by the learned to Sekkilar's *Periya-puranam* after deliberations in the thousand-pillared hall at Chidambaram (during the time of Kulottunga II).

The temple authorities received gifts and endowments and served as the managing agencies to carry out the aims and objects of such trusts. In addition to meeting various kinds of routine expenditure connected with daily worship, celebrations of festivals, and above all for repairs to temple buildings, provision was made for the maintenance of the temple architect, the carpenter, blacksmith and other servants of the temple.

It is an erroneous and one-sided view to hold, as H. Goetz does, that the temple benefited only the priestly class

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(*India*: p. 132, Art of the World Series, Methuen, London). The temple was the most beneficent institution of the medieval age striving for the material and spiritual welfare of *all* classes of people in the locality. It influenced the life of the people in many ways and greatly enriched and ennobled their lives. It was an age of faith, and, except in a later decadent age, neither mean motives nor selfish interests found a place in the economy of temple administration. The priests were only one of the many classes of beneficiaries, perhaps not even the recipients of a substantial share of the benefactions either.

Here is a list of items of expenditure, detailed in an inscription of the 10th century, of the 8th year of Uttama Chola (A. D. 959-985), at Konerirajapuram, made out of the income of an endowment of lands made at the instance of his mother Sembiyan Mahadevi. Provision was made for food offerings to the gods, sandal-paste, incense, lamps; expenses for the *sri-bali* ceremony on the day of her natal star; the feeding of learned Brahmans, worshippers and pilgrims; the wages of persons who prepared the sandal paste, of persons who held the canopy over the idols carried in procession, the cultivators of flower-gardens, the gatherers of flowers, the makers of garlands for the various deities, the servants who kept the precincts of the temple clean, the musicians, the trumpeters, the conch-blowers, the watchmen of the images, the reciters of *Tiruppadigam* (the sacred hymns of the Tamil saints), the temple-accountant, the royal auditor of temple-accounts, the potter who supplied pots, the weaver who supplied cloth for the deities, the dyer of such cloth, the carriers of holy water for the sacred bath; repairs to temple buildings; the wages of the astrologers who read the day's almanac, the temple architect, the carpenter, the blacksmith; the provision of houses for all the temple–servants, the priests, cooks, hymners, musicians and others. This detailed narration will dispel the notion that temple endowments benefited any *one* class. And there were in that age ample

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employment opportunities for different kinds of talent and services. It was a rudimentary experiment in the creation of a "Welfare State". By helping the poor and the needy, the rich hoped to gain not only their good will and co-operation, but also spiritual merit for themselves.

Temples were generally well-administered, but there were occasional lapses, as any human institution is subject to. And there are instances of prompt royal enquiries into reported cases of mal-administration or misappropriation of public funds, and redress of wrongs. In the days of Raja-kesarivarman (Aditya I : 35 of 1895), there was an enquiry into the affairs of the temple (*Sri Karyam*) of Tillaisthanam; and three persons — *Nagarak-karanattan* (Accountant of the Nagaram), the writer of accounts (*Kanakku-eludu-kinravan*), and another — were fined, perhaps for some misappropriation of funds; and the amount—three *kalanju* and odd—thus collected was utilised for making two fore-head plates for the deity of Tillaisthanam. Another enquiry was conducted in the 25th year of Parantaka I. By a royal writ, the king's officer in collaboration with the Committee of the *Nagaram* (*Nagara-variyam*) conducted an enquiry into the affairs of the temple. Fines were levied on defaulters, and the amount thus collected was utilised for making a forehead plate (*pattam*) and, further, provision was made for the celebration of a festival. Again in the days of Sundara Chola, three members of the *Nagarathar* (merchants) community were fined by the royal investigating officer and the large amount of 14 *kalanju* of gold thus collected was used for making two forehead plates for the deity.

There is an enquiry into temple affairs in the 4th year (325th day) of Parakesarivarman (who can be identified with Uttama Chola), regarding the temple at Tiruvidai-marudur. The *Sabhai* of Tiraimur, the *Nagaram* of Tiruvidai-marudil, the trustees of the temple (*Tiruk-koyil-udaiyar*) and the royal officer supervising and regulating the temple affairs met in the *Nataka Sala* (hall of dance), and enquired into the endowments for lamps maintained from the interest

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thereof. Incidentally, the inscription mentions that all the inscribed stones relating to such endowments were kept in underground cellars prior to the renovation of the temple in stone, and they were ordered to be re-engraved on the stone walls of the renovated temple. On examination, they noticed the omission of an endowment of 60 *kalanju* of gold by Kaduvettigal Nandipottaraiyan, and this grant was ordered to be engraved.

Another inscription from Tiruvamattur, an inscription of Parantaka I, records that the *mahout* of the temple elephant which carried *Sri-bali* of the Perumanadigal of Tiruvamattur lost the share of the land allotted to him, and so this ceremony came to a stand-still. Then the *Pan-Mahesvaras* of the temple went to the king and preferred a complaint. The king thereupon ordered the restoration of the gift. And the royal order (*Sri Mukham*) was duly communicated to the king's officer in charge of the administration of the district, who regularised the gift.

There is another very interesting case recorded at Tirumalpuram in an inscription of the 14th year of *Konerinmaikondan*, without the mention of the King's name, which could be definitely attributed to Uttama Chola (286 of 1906). According to this inscription, the village of *Sirriyarrur* was gifted as *devadana iraiyili* (gift of tax-free land to the temple), and the *sabha* of the neighbouring village of *Puduppakkam* received the land and agreed to meet the obligations under the endowment. This grant was made in the 21st year of *Tondaimanarrur-Tunjinadevar*, i.e., Aditya I, and the ceremony of circumambulation by an elephant was also gone through in the 22nd year of Aditya I. But the deed of trust was not entered into the accounts till the fourth year of Parantaka I. All these years the *Sabha* of Puduppakkam did not honour its obligations. In the 36th year of Parantaka I, a fresh additional grant was made as *devadana iraiyili* to the same temple and the same *sabha* of Puduppakkam was entrusted with the management also of this additional gift of land.

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The *Devakanmis* (temple priests), the *Unnaligai-Udaiyar* (men in charge of temple stores), and the *Mahesvaras* (Temple Trustees) of the temple of Tirumalpuram made a complaint to Sola Muvenda Velan, the minister of Uttama Chola, that the *sabha* of Puduppakkam had defaulted its obligations and had misappropriated the temple funds. This was duly reported to the king. Thereupon, the king summoned the *Devakanmis*, the *Unnaligai Udaiyar* and the *Mahesvaras* of Tirumalperu (the ancient name of Tirumalpuram) and the representatives of the *sabha* of Puduppakkam. After a thorough enquiry, the king was satisfied with the guilt of misappropriation by the *sabha*. The *sabha* was fined and was directed to fulfil its obligations. Increased scales of expenditure were ordered out of the increased income. Integrity in the management of public funds was thus ensured by the vigilance of the king's officers and other members of the body politic. Here a note of warning is necessary. Inscriptions never recorded the even tenor of life of the people but considered and decided only *abnormal* cases of crimes and misdemeanours that needed correction or punishment. From such stray recorded cases, no unduly dark picture of the life of the people should be visualised.

The temple lent money to individuals or local bodies in times of scarcity or distress and it served as "*the people's bank*" in those days. The Assembly of *Talaichchangadu* within whose jurisdiction lay the temple of *Naltunai Isvaram* of Punjai received on a *promissory note* (*Kai-eluttu-olai*) a sum of 500 *kalanju* of gold, and in lieu of the interest thereon agreed to pay the taxes on two *veli* of land belonging to the temple.

As a poor-home, it helped the needy and the disabled. Every day a certain number of the indigent and the vagrant were fed out of funds endowed by philanthropists.

Village assemblies met and elections to local bodies and committees thereof were conducted in the premises of the temple. And the holding of such meetings in the sacred precincts of the temple gave a moral fervour and a

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spiritual tone to their deliberations. None dared to speak the untruth or do an evil deed in such holy surroundings.

The period of the early Cholas marked the high water-mark of local self-government, as the inscriptions at Uttaramerur, Kaverippakkam, Tirupparkkadal, and other towns disclose. The system of committee-administration and the method of *election* of the members of the various committees are detailed in two inscriptions on the walls of the Vaikuntha-perumal temple at Uttaramerur. An inscription from Kattumannar Koyil (or Mannargudi) gives us the interesting fact that the strength of the local assembly was 120 — a real representative deliberative body.

There is one other noteworthy feature of temple administration. Learned men were entrusted with the management of public trusts. In Srinivasanallur, there is mention of *Chaturvedibhattarap-perumakkal* (588 of 1904). An inscription of the 37th year of Parantaka I mentions a local committee called the *Allur-talai-voy-Sanrom.* They are said to have been greatly concerned with the silting of the land by the floods of the Kaveri and its remaining waste for six or seven years. So they made a bid if any one would buy the land. When an offer came from a philanthropist, this learned body sold the land to the donor making it tax-free. Thereupon the donor reclaimed the silted waste-land and made a gift of it to the local temple of Allur-Nakkan Paramesvarar for offerings.

At Vedaranyam, a body called *Devaridai Sanrom* received a gift of sheep and agreed to supply ghee for the burning of lamps in the temple. There is reference to a body of learned men called "*Sasana-baddha-Chaturvedi-bhatta-Perumbadi-Sahasra-dana-Perumakkal*" who were entrusted with the administration of charitable endowments at Viranarayana chaturvedi-mangalam (modern Kattumannargudi) created as a colony of learned men by Parantaka I. This record (585 of 1920) may belong to the days of Sundara Chola.

Sembiyan Mahadevi is the name of a village created by the

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great Chola queen Sembiyan Mahadevi, the queen of Gandaraditya and the mother of Uttama Chola. In this village, the administration of the religious and charitable endowments was left with a body of learned men called " *Sasana-baddha-Chaturvedi-bhattar-danaperumakkal*" (496 of 1925). Faith in the administration of trust-properties by those most learned and of the highest character was an important feature of this age.

Tirumalavadi contains certain important particulars about rebuilding old temples. It is recorded that in the 28th year (39th day) of Rajaraja I, the king ordered the demolition of the old *vimana* and its rebuilding. Thereupon, the royal officer ordered the copying into a book of the inscriptions on the walls of the old *vimana*. This order was duly communicated to the supervisor and trustees of the temple, the men in charge of the construction of the temple and the *sabha* of Gandaraditya Chaturvedi-mangalam, in whose jurisdiction the temple was situated.

It is further recorded that in the 14th year (70th day) of Rajendra I, the son and successor of Rajaraja I, the king ordered the re-engraving of the old copied inscriptions on the walls of the newly built temple. This royal order was issued by the king's minister, Uttama Sola Brahmamarayan, to the local officer in charge of the *srikaryam* (sacred affairs) of the temple, to the *devakanmis* (temple-servants) and to the *sabha* of Gandaraditya Chaturvedi-mangalam, and to the neighbouring *sabha* of Puliyur; and it was duly implemented under the supervision of a number of persons duly authorised by the king's officers, the local bodies and representatives of the temple (92 and 91 of 1895).

It was an age when *sati* (self-immolation of widows) was in vogue. At Allur, we have a case of *sati*. In the days of Gandaraditya and Arinjaya, there lived a local Chief named Virasola Ilangovel *alias* Parantaka Kunjara Mallan. It is recorded that the wife of this Chief, Gangamadeviyar, committed *sati* (*tip-poykinrar*); prior to her self-immolation, she is said to have made a gift of 20 *kalanju* of gold

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for the reclamation of some land for being endowed for a lamp to be maintained in the temple. This was perhaps in the 3rd year of Arinjaya. At Kumaravayalur in the Tiruchy District, we have another very curious and interesting record, perhaps of the period of Parantaka I. It is stated that one Sendan Kari, daughter of Vettan Sendan, was issueless; she decided to adopt the Goddess as her daughter. She celebrated Her marriage with the God, and she also made provision for the daily worship and offerings to the Goddess by endowing the land which she had obtained as *stridanam*. She is said also to have consecrated the image of the Goddess *Uma Bhattarika* in the temple of Tirukkarrali Permual, as the modern Agnisvara temple was then called (15th year of Parakesarivarman, No. 151 of 1936-37).

Public Record office

The Temple was the Public Record Office of those times. All gifts and endowments by kings, local bodies or private individuals were, with the approval of the local bodies, engraved on loose stone slabs, and, later, when temples were built of stone, on the outer walls of the *vimana*, the *mandapas* and *prakaras* of temples. While the original deeds of grants were on *cadjan* leaves or on copper plates, their copies were inscribed on temple walls. In the early period, only the regnal year and the name of the king, his *birudas* or titles specifying his unique achievements were recorded. Parantaka I was generally described as *Madirai-Konda Parakesari*. From the time of Rajaraja I, the *prasasti* (Tamil; *Meykkirtti*) with a distinct historical introduction (*Tirumagal Pola* in his case) was a concomitant prelude to descriptions of grants and endowments. It was not a mere static formula of any one achievement but a brief record of the king's reign year after year. The *prasasti* grew in size along with the king's achievements; and the *prasasti* of Rajendra I which has a different introduction (*Tirumanni-valara*) is a grand piece of poetic eulogy containing reliable historical material of high value to the historian. Inscriptions of the

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kings of South India on the walls of temples are the most important source for the history of the land.

Sembiyan Mahadevi's construction of temples and her gifts to them are a record without any parallel. One of her gifts to the temple of Tirunallam (Konerirajapuram) built in memory of her husband recorded in an inscription mentioned above is enough to give us an insight into the scope and extent of the good conferred by such gifts to the various sections of the community.

I shall close this brief survey by presenting the main features of an inscription of Vira Rajendra in the Venkatesa Perumal temple at Tirumukkudal, which has a fine romantic situation at the junction of three rivers, the Palar, the Vegavati and the Cheyyar. It is two miles from Palaiya Sivaram next to Walajabad station on the Southern Railway.

The endowment consisted of three gifts which amounted to an annual income of 3243 *kalams* of paddy and a cash income of 216½ *kasus*. This large income was to be utilised for various kinds of temple services, the maintenance of a Vedic college with a hostel attached to it, and for the upkeep of an Ayurvedic dispensary (*Atular-Salai*).

The provision for temple-services included food-offerings, sandal-paste, oil for lamps, celebration of festivals, clothes for deities, the feeding of pilgrims to Tirupati and of Sri Vaishnavas on the days of the festivals, the payment to the temple astrologer, the recitation of *Tiruvoymoli*, the cultivation of a flower garden, called *Vira Solan*, the maintenance of priests, the accountant, the waterman, the potters, and above all provision for repairs (*Pudukkupuram*).

The Vedic college attached to the temple made provision for the teaching of the *Rig Veda*, the *Yajur Veda*, *Rupavatara* and certain *Agamas* and *Tantras*. The hostel fed 60 persons daily. There was provision not only for feeding them, but also for meeting the cost of mats (to serve as beds), oil for lamps and for the oil-bath of the inmates on 51 Saturdays of the year, and wages for cooks and servants.

The dispensary made provision for the maintenance

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of a physician (*vaidyan*) who diagnosed diseases and administered the medicine, a surgeon (*salliyak-kiriyai-pannuvan*), two persons who supplied the herbs, three persons to supply firewood, two nurses to attend on the patients (*atular* or *vyati-pattuk-kidappan*), a barber and a watchman. The hospital had fifteen sick-beds; it kept a stock of medicines mentioned in the Ayurvedic treatises : *Charaka-samhita*, *Susruta-samhita* and *Ashtanga-hridaya*. A sum of 40 *kasus* was ear-marked for the stocking of these medicines.

An earlier inscription of the days of Rajendra I mentions a *Vaidya-bhoga* endowment by a royal lady called Kundavai Alvar, the king's aunt, for an Ayurvedic dispensary at Tanjavur named after her father as *Sundara Chola Vinnagar Atular Salai*.

All the temple activities were thus directed towards the promotion of the welfare and happiness of the community. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri finely summarises the role of the temple in these words:

" As landowner, employer, and consumer of goods and services, as bank, school and museum, as hospital, and therefore in short as a nucleus which gathered round itself all that was best in the art of civilized existence and regulated them with the humaneness born of the spirit of *Dharma*, the medieval Indian temple has few parallels in the annals of mankind." (*The Colas*, 2nd edition, p. 654).

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6 Political Background

The history of South India up to the rise of the British power is the story of the four main great dynasties that ruled over this region with fluctuating fortunes — the Pallavas of Kanchi, the Cholas of Tanjavur, the Pandyas of Madurai and the Vijayanagar rulers.

When the mists of prehistory lift from the South Indian scene, a few centuries before the Christian era, the picture of an age of great literary activity known as the *Sangam Age* unfolds itself. The Sangam rulers were great patrons of art and literature. Not much of historical data is available to help trace accurately the genealogy of these rulers. Karikala, assigned to about the 2nd century A.D., is regarded as the greatest of the Chola rulers of the Sangam Age. An interregnum followed. The local Tamil rulers were subdued by the Kalabhras, a foreign tribe perhaps of Buddhist faith. The picture clears up with the rise of the Pallavas and the Pandyas in the middle of the 6th century A.D., after the overthrow of the *Kalabhras*. Coeval with the Simhavishnu line of the Pallavas of Kanchi (A.D. 550-850) were the Pandyas of the First Empire, who ruled from Madurai for over three centuries and a half. The middle of the 8th century saw the struggle for supremacy between the Pallavas and the Pandyas, in which no small part was played by the powerful local chieftains. With the gradual decline of these two powers towards the middle of the 9th century A.D., the Cholas, hitherto in a state of hibernation, rose to power again under the leadership of Vijayalaya who laid the foundations of an empire which lasted well over four eventful centuries from A.D. 850 to 1270. Thereupon, the Pandyas rose again to power, but only for a brief though colourful century between A.D. 1200 and 1300. When all these three Dravidian dynasties

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had withered away in exhaustion, there arose a vigorous new empire with Vijayanagar (Hampi) as its capital founded (A.D. 1336) by the Sangama brothers to protect the political and religious freedom of South India against the onslaught of militant, iconoclastic Islam.

The Cholas are the greatest among the Dravidian dynasties. There were some distinguished Chola rulers like Karikala during the Sangam Age, but their line is lost in oblivion till their resurrection in the middle of the 9th century A.D. under Vijayalaya.

Like the "Lords of the Marches" in the feudal days in medieval Europe, the Muttaraiyars were powerful Chiefs, who were lords of Tanjai and Vallam, with their capital at Niyamam (Nemam). Hemmed in by two powerful rulers, the Pallavas in the north and the Pandyas in the south, they played a dexterous political game, paying allegiance to that power which for the time being was supreme.

The ninth century A.D. in South India witnessed a deadly struggle for supremacy between the Pallavas and the Pandyas. The Pallava ruler Nandivarman III (A. D. 835-860) gained a great victory over the Pandyan ruler Sri Mara Sri Vallabha (A.D. 815-862) on the banks of the river *Tellaru*, and so assumed the title of the "Victor of Tellaru" (*Tellarerinda*). In his turn, he suffered defeat at the hands of the Pandyas at Kudamukku (Kumbakonam). It was left to Nrpatunga, the son and successor of Nandivarman III, to reverse the previous verdict by inflicting a crushing blow on Sri Mara Sri Vallabha on the banks of the *Arichit* (the river *Arasalar* flowing south of Kumbakonam). Sri Mara's successor Varaguna II (A.D. 862-880) made a desperate effort to save the Pandya power. But this was not to be. Varaguna II marched against the Pallavas, and at *Sri Purambiyam* (Tiruppurambiyam), northeast of Kumbakonam, Nrpatunga's son and successor Aparajita, helped by his feudatory Prithvipati I of the Western Gangas as well as by Aditya Chola (who had by then succeeded his father Vijayalaya), gave the Pandyas such a crushing defeat that they never

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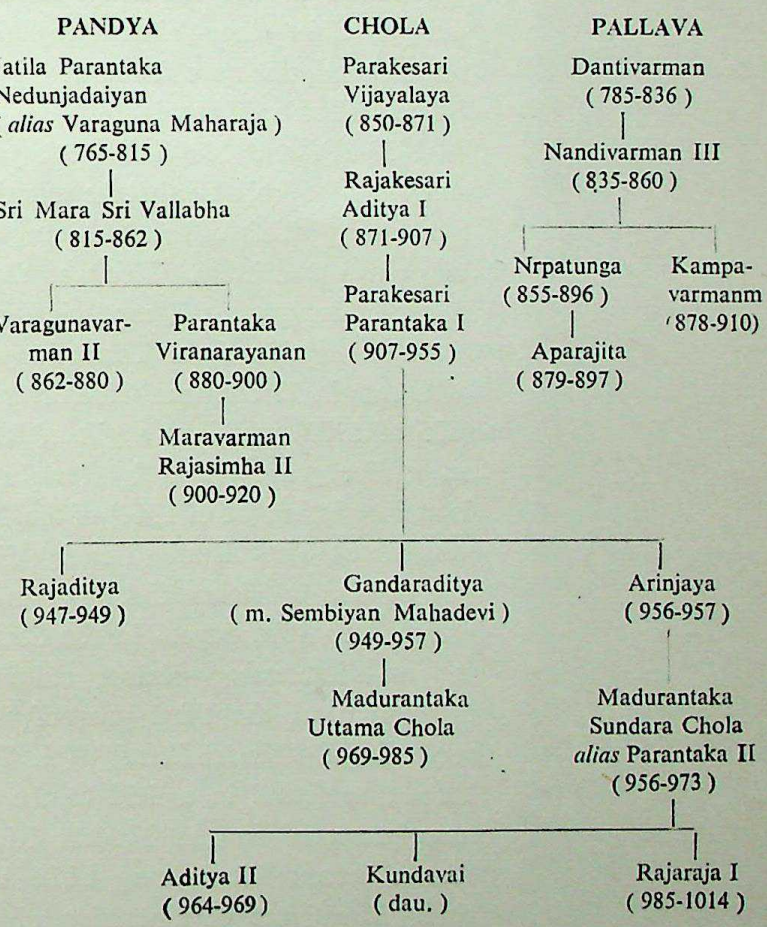
recovered from it. Even the victor Aparajita, thoroughly exhausted by the frequent wars, gradually sank into insignificance. With the death of Prithvipati I, the real hero of this Pallava victory, the initiative and drive of the Pallavas finally passed on to the rising power of the Cholas.

Parakesari Vijayalaya's chief achievement was the overthrow of the powerful Muttaraiyars of Niyamam and the capture of Tanjai (Tanjavur) and Vallam. This was the nucleus of the future Chola expansion.

COMPARATIVE GENEALOGIES OF THE PANDYA, CHOLA AND PALLAVA RULERS



N. B. The dates are only tentative.

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7 Vijayalaya (Parakesari)

Introduction

The rise and expansion of the Chola power began in the ninth century A.D. under Vijayalaya, who is designated only as Parakesarivarman in almost all his inscriptions. Uraiyur, the ancient capital of the Cholas of the Sangam age or Palaiyaru near Kumbakonam might have been his starting point. His first conquest was the capture of Tanjai (Tanjavur) and Vallam in the Tanjavur district. There is mention of one Ko-Ilango-Muttaraiyar, the only Muttaraiyar Chief who claims a regnal year of his own, and whose inscriptions are found at Niyamam (18th year; 12 of 1899). Tirukkodikkaval (13th and 17th years; 39 and 44 of 1930-31), and Koyiladi (13th year; 303-D of 1901). It seems highly probable that he was the last of the line of the local ruling chiefs of the Muttaraiyars, and the one whom Vijayalaya overthrew. This was the beginning of the great career of conquest and expansion of the Chola power.

An inscription from Tirunedungalam (Tiruchy district) of a certain Tribhuvana Chakravartin Konerinmaikondan (675 of 1909) mentions a gift of land in accordance with an earlier grant issued by *Parakesari Vijayalaya*. There is an inscription (81 of 1910) of the 3rd year of Parakesarivarman at Tiruvellarai (Tiruchy district) which refers to a gift of land to Tirumanikka Perumanadigal. This may be assigned to Vijayalaya. In the South Arcot district, there is an interesting—almost unique—inscription at Vira-Solapuram of the third year of "Parakesarivarman who took Tanjai (*Tanjai Kotta*)" (pl. 7). It is engraved on a hero-stone found in a field to the east of the village but now preserved in the Madras Museum. This mentions that a person fell fighting while rescuing cattle from a raid. The figure of a warrior with a bow and arrow is carved in relief on the slab (51 of 1935-36).

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A gift in the 4th year of Vijayalaya is mentioned in an inscription of the 5th year of Vikrama Chola at Kilputtur in the North Arcot district (164 of 1915). Naturally, this region should have been under his sway.

The temple of Tiruvirattanattup-Perumanadigal at Kilur (a suburb of Tirukkovalur) in the South Arcot district has an inscription of the 5th year of Parakesarivarman (299 of 1902). It refers to a gift of 15 *kalanju* of gold for a lamp by Iladadigal Magalar Nangai Kulamanikkattar, queen of Vanakovaraiyar. The archaic character of the inscription justifies its being ascribed to Vijayalaya. And this will indicate that the local chief of Tirukkovalur had been brought under Chola rule.

The Bhuvanamanikka Vishnugriham at Ukkal has an inscription of the 16th year of Parakesarivarman who is identified with Vijayalaya by Hultzsch (28 of 1893), but this identification does not seem to be correct.

Four inscriptions on the walls of the Vaikuntha Perumal temple at Uttaramerur could be ascribed to Vijayalaya (14th year: 35 of 1898; 15th year, 143rd day: 14 of 1898 ; 16th year: 4 of 1898; 16th year, 33rd day : 34 of 1898).

Next, at Kanchipuram, there is an inscription of the fourth year of Parakesarivarman (SII., I, No. 85) on the walls of the Kailasanatha temple, which could be ascribed to Vijayalaya. Moreover, the conquest of the region and its occupation by Vijayalaya are confirmed by the Madras Museum Plates of Uttama Chola. This charter mentions, in the order of succession, three gifts made by earlier rulers : (i) one of the 22nd year of Parakesarivarman, (ii) one of the 9th year of Vijayakampavarman and (iii) one of the 18th year of "Parakesarivarman who took Madurai and Ilam " (i.e., Parantaka I). Among these three rulers, the first should relate to none but Parakesari Vijayalaya.

Narttamalai, where is found the Vijayalaya Cholisvaram, marks the southern limit of the Chola kingdom under Vijayalaya. It is inconceivable that the Chola Kingdom

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under Vijayalaya expanded in the South beyond its traditional boundary of the southern Vellar now in the Tiruchy district. The Suchindram inscription of the 34th year of Parakesarivarman which Hultzsch assigned to Vijayalaya (81 of 1896) should be treated as one of Parantaka I's.

The area from Kanchipuram to Narttamalai should be regarded as the extent of Chola power under Vijayalaya, though the northern region was far from being consolidated. That work was done by Aditya I and Parantaka I.*

The only temple which Vijayalaya is said to have built is that dedicated to his patron deity Nisumbhasudani consecrated by him at Tanjavur soon after his victory over the Muttaraiyars. The other temples described here are assigned to his period by circumstantial evidence based on newly-discovered inscriptions or on stylistic considerations of the architectural and decorative features of the monuments themselves.

Inscriptional References

(a) *Ko-Ilango-Muttaraiyar*

Nemam	12 of 1899
Tirukkodikkaval	39 and 44 of 1930-31
Koyiladi	303-D of 1901

(*b*) *Vijayalaya*

Tirunedungalam	675 of 1909
Tiruvellarai	81 of 1910
Vira Solapuram	51 of 1935-36
(Tanjai kotta kop-parakesaripanmarkku yandu 3-vadu)	
Kilputtur	164 of 1915
Kilur	299 of 1902
Uttaramerur	35, 14, 4 and 34 of 1898

*K. A. Nilakanta Sastri limits the northern boundary of Vijayalaya's kingdom to the *Vellar* (see map facing p. 132 and also his Note 77 on p. 166 of "The Colas" for a discussion on this subject). Even the year A.D. 850 for the accession of Vijayalaya is only an approximate date. Tondaimandalam was the main arena of the struggle for supremacy between the later Pallavas and the early Cholas.

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Kanchipuram	SII. I, No. 85
Vilkkanampundi	125 and 126 of 1943-44
The Madras Museum Plates of Uttama Chola	
The Tiruvalangadu Plates of Rajendra Chola I	
The Kanyakumari Inscription of Vira Rajendra	

Temples of Vijayalaya's Time

Tanjavur District

1. Tanjavur
2. Tiruvilimilalai : 382-449 of 1908; 235-7 of 1938-39.

Tiruchy District

3. Narttamalai (Pudukkottai Dvn) : (1) JOR, Madras, Vols. VII and VIII
   (2) "A Manual of the Pudukkottai State" by K.R. Venkataraman, Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 562-9.
4. Kaliyapatti (,, ,,) : JOR, Madras, Vol. XII, Pt. I
5. Panangudi (,, ,,) : Journal of the Madras University, Vol. XIII, No. 1
6. Viralur (,, ,,) : "A Manual of the Pudukkottai State"
7. Visalur (,, ,,) — do —
8. Tiruppur (,, ,,) : JOR, Madras, Vol. XII, Pt. IV
9. Enadi (,, ,,)
10. Sri Rangam : 69-73 of 1892; 95 of 1936-7
11. Tiruvellarai : 512-543 of 1905, and 81-91 of 1910

South Arcot District

12. Chidambaram : Journal of the Annamalai University Vols. XII and XIII.

North Arcot District

13. Kappalur : 244-289 of 1938-39

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Chingleput District

14. Uttaramerur : 1-42 and 49-92 of 1898, and 163-197 of 1923
15. Kanchipuram : 1-37 of 1888; 22-39 of 1890; 1-18 and 33-54 of 1893; 11-12 of 1895; 40-51 of 1900; etc.
16. Kuram : SII, I, pp. 144 ff. 39-A of 1900, and SII, VII, 42.
17. Kalambakkam : 173-178 of 1943-44; and ANCIENT INDIA, No. 14

Chittoor District

18. Nenmali (Nemmeli) : 14-15 of 1933.

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8 Temples of Vijayalaya's Time

Nisumbhasudani Temple

Tanjavur [Tanjore]

The only temple known to have been built and consecrated by Vijayalaya was the Nisumbhasudani temple at Tanjavur built by him soon after the overthrow of the Muttaraiyars.

The Tiruvalangadu plates of Rajendra Chola mention that Vijayalaya consecrated the image of Nisumbhasudani "whose lotus feet are worshipped by Gods and demons and by whose grace he bore as easily as a garland the weight of the whole earth resplendent with the garment of the four oceans". This fact is confirmed by the Kanyakumari Stone inscription of Vira Rajendra.

The identification of this sculpture of this Goddess was a matter of controversy, but this can be considered to be almost set at rest by the discovery, near what is called the Potter's Street, Tanjavur, of the figure of Ugra Makali at the eastern gate of the old fort of the Cholas at Tanjavur. The broken image has survived but the original temple has gone out of existence.

This is a seated figure of Nisumbhasudani (pl. 8) broken into two pieces at the waist. Including the pedestal, it is five feet eight inches (1.7m) high. Below it is a demon. The right leg is bent and the left hangs down pressing upon another demon with his face up and in a fighting mood holding a sword and a shield. The hair of the Goddess is dressed in *jatabhara* style. She wears a *hara* while a snake serves as *kuchabandha* (breast-band). She wields a trident in the upper right hand held in the act of piercing the demon below. On iconographic grounds, the image can be safely assigned to the middle of the ninth century A.D. and it is one of the finest sculptures of the days of Vijayalaya.*

*See Lalit Kala Nos. 2 & 3; and Archaeological Society of South India, Volume 2 (1955), articles by P. R. Srinivasan.

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Vilinathasvami Temple : Tiruttantonri-Mahadevar

Tiruvilimilalai

Tiruvilimilalai is a place of great sanctity to the Saivites. It is said that Appar and Sambandar (7th Century) spent many days in the *mathas* near the temple of this place and carried on their worship and religious discourses. And Sundaramurti (of the early 9th century A.D.) has a hymn of devotional songs on the Lord of this place.

The earliest inscriptions of this temple are not found on the walls of the central shrine, but on pillars of the later shrine of the Goddess Sundarakuchambal; evidently, when the central shrine was renovated, the pillars — jambs — of the central shrine were later utilised in the construction of the shrine of the goddess. There are three inscriptions of the 3rd, 6th and 15th year of a Parakesarivarman (439, 436 and 435 of 1908) and they can be assigned to Vijayalaya. The deity of the central shrine is named today as Vilinathasvamin, but, according to these inscriptions, was called Tirut-Tantonri Bhattarakar or Mahadeva at Tiruvilimilalai. There are also an incomplete inscription of a Rajakesarivarman (Aditya I,) and two inscriptions of Madiraikonda Parakesarivarman i.e., Parantaka I, of the 32nd and 38th years (440 and 441 of 1908). The earlier of these Parantaka inscriptions mentions a gift of lamp to the temple of *Tiruvagattisvarattup-Perumanadigal* evidently another temple in this locality which can not now be traced.

Even though the central shrine of Vilinathasvami has been renovated and its stones used in the erection of the shrine of the Goddess, the Parakesari inscriptions point to the conclusion that the original temple of Vilinathasvami should have been a foundation of the days of Vijayalaya.

Vijayalaya Cholisvaram

Narttamalai

To-day, Narttamalai is a small village in the Pudukkottai division of Tiruchy district, about 10 miles (16.1 km.) from Pudukkottai town. But in the Pallava as well as the Chola days, it appears to have been a place of considerable poli-

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tical as well as cultural importance.

The Vijayalaya Cholisvaram at Narttamalai (pl. 10) is one of the earliest and grandest of the structural stone temples built during the time of Vijayalaya.

On the Melamalai at Narttamalai, we have two rock-cut cave temples and a group of structural stone shrines opposite to them. Cave Temple I is a rock-cut cave popularly called 'Samana Kudagu' (Cave of the Jains). Perhaps, it was originally a Jaina cave of about the seventh century A. D. Now it has features of a Vaishnavite shrine with a *cella* and a *mandapa*, both scooped out of the rock. There are twelve wonderful images of Vishnu each six feet five inches (2 m.) tall, two on the sides and five each on the two sides of the doorway leading to the sanctum. The twelve figures perhaps represent those of the twelve names of Vishnu. The *sankha*, the *chakra*, the garments and the ornamentation deserve praise. A stone *mukhamandapa* was built also about the same time and I traced an uncopied later inscription on its basement relating to the 45th year of the Chola King Kulottunga I (1070 plus 45 = A. D. 1115). The above mentioned inscription states that the name of the Vaishnavite deity was "Tirumer-Koyil Karumanikka Devar" at 'Telunga Kula-Kala Nagaram' as Narttamalai was called in that period.

South of Cave I and along the edge of the rock is Cave II. It is also a rock-cut, but a Siva, temple. It was excavated in the seventh year of the Pallava King Nrpatunga (A. D. 855-896) by a local Chief called Sattan Paliyili; and his daughter Paliyili Siriya Nangai, the wife of Minavan Tamiladiyaraiyan alias Mallan Anandan added to it a *mukhamandapa*, a *rishabha* with a *rishabha mandapa*, and a *balipitham*. She also made a gift of land as *archana-bhogam*. This is therefore styled *Paliyili Isvaram*, after the name of the founder (pl. 11-c).

Note : While fixing the age of Paliyili Isvaram, K. R. Venkataraman ("A Manual of the Pudukkottai State", Vol. II, Part I, pp. 562 and 569) says "that it was excavated by Sattan Paliyili, son of Videl Vidugu Mutta-

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Opposite to these two cave temples I and II, stands a group of shrines constructed of stone facing the west and facing both the caves as well. On the rock to the north east of cave I (alias Samana Kudagu) and opposite also to the group of structural shrines, there is an inscription of the 12th year of the Pandya King Maravarman Sundara Pandya Deva (A.D. 1228) which mentions that the *Nagarattar* (the corporation of merchants) of this village made provision for the celebration of the *Vaigasi* festival of " *Udaiyar Vijayalaya Cholisvaram Udaya Nayanar.*"

The editor of the earlier Pudukkottai Gazetteer identified the Vijayalaya Cholisvaram of this Pandya inscription with the Siva temple of Cave II. This is certainly a wrong

raiyan, and his son and daughter extended and endowed it. Paliyili Isvaram must have been excavated in the time of Nandivarman III as shown below" and further on adds that "he (*Sattan Paliyili*) *lived towards the end of Dantivarman's reign* and the beginning of *that of Nandivarman III.* Sattan Paliyili was probably a contemporary of Nandivarman III and the Pandya Sri Mara Sri Vallabha, and his son whose name is not known erected a mandapa in front of the cave and had a vehicle (*vahana*) in the form of bull made for the idol and also a shed to keep it in, as we learn from an inscription dated the seventh year of the reign of Pallava Nrpatunga."

I interpret the inscription differently. According to this inscription (in Cave II), *Videl Vidugu Muttaraiyan* is said to be the father of *Sattan Paliyili*, the excavator of Paliyili Isvaram. There is a rock-cut Siva temple at Malaiyadipatti. This is said to have been excavated in the 16th year of Dantivarman (A.D. 801). by one Videl Vidugu Muttaraiyan alias Kuvavan Sattan (No. 18, *Pudukkottai Inscriptions*, Text). It seems likely that these two chiefs refer to the same person. In that case, we can admit that Videl Vidugu Muttaraiyan, the builder of the Malaiyadipatti cave temple, might have lived in the days of Dantivarman and perhaps also in a part of the reign of Nandivarman III.

But there is no justification to infer that "*Sattan Paliyili* lived towards the end of Dantivarman's reign and the beginning of that of Nandivarman III", as K. R. Venkataraman has done. And there is nothing chronologically impossible for Sattan Paliyili, son of Videl Vidugu Muttaraiyan, to have lived long enough to complete the excavation of the cave temple at Narttamalai in the 7th year of Nrpatunga Pallava (A.D. 862). The two records are separated only by an interval of 60 years which could easily accommodate two generations of father and son. *Sattan Paliyili*, son of Videl Vidugu Muttaraiyan, might have lived in the latter part of the reign of Nandivarman III and the early years of Nrpatunga's, but surely he was the builder of this cave temple which should have been completed before the 7th year of Nrpatunga. K. R. Srinivasan gives a slightly different version regarding the interpretation of this inscription in his "Inscriptions of Pudukkottai State-Translation" (Part I, No. 19). I follow the revised text published in SII., XII (No. 63; 365 of 1904).

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identific tion opposed to all probabilities that could be deduced from the available evidence.

Firstly, Cave I is a Vaishnavite temple and therefore it can be clearly stated that Vijayalaya Cholisvaram cannot refer to this cave temple.

Secondly, the temple in cave II is established beyond any ambiguity as *Paliyili Isvaram* (the temple built by one Paliyili) by the inscription on the basement of the dilapidated *mandapa* in front of the same.

If we look at the location of the Sundara Pandyan inscription itself, it is to be noted that it stands inscribed on the rock north-east of Cave I and in front of the group of stone structural shrines. If at all the inscription was meant to relate to the temple of Cave II (i.e. Paliyili Isvaram), it should have been inscribed on some part of its own structure or close to it but certainly not beyond Cave I.

Thirdly, except Paliyili Isvaram and this group of structural stone shrines, there is no other Siva temple on the Melamalai.

Therefore, on the basis of the evidence given above, it seems to be clear that the Vijayalaya Cholisvaram mentioned in the late Pandyan inscription must refer only to this group of structural shrines, opposite to the Caves I and II and to the rock inscription itself.

No doubt, the Pandyan inscription belongs to the 13th Century, but it is only correct to infer that it should have recorded the name of this temple faithfully as it was handed down by tradition from the time of its foundation.

Moreover, in the whole dynastic list of the Chola Kings, there is only one king who bears the name of Vijayalaya Chola. There is therefore absolutely no reason for any ambiguity or confusion on this score.

It can therefore justifiably be concluded that this group of structural shrines at Narttamalai is the Vijayalaya Cholisvaram constructed during the time of Vijayalaya Chola, the founder of the Chola dynasty; and the identity of the structure and its age are beyond dispute. The style of the

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temple and its adjuncts merely reinforce the same conclusion, and to this aspect we shall now turn our attention.

The Vijayalaya Cholisvaram is a structural stone temple having a main shrine in the centre with six sub-shrines all round facing the main shrine. The basement of a seventh sub-shrine can be traced. Originally there must have been eight sub-shrines. There should also have existed a wall of enclosure surrounding the whole group with a gateway in the east.

The main shrine faces the west; it is a shrine built wholly of stone from the basement to the finial. The *sanctum sanctorum* is circular in form — perhaps intended to represent *Pranava* or *Omkara,* the mystic spiritual symbol of the Hindus. Its inner diameter is eight feet six inches (2.6m.) and its height eight feet. (2.4m.) The circular walls are five feet (1.5m.) thick. There are four square pillars at the four corners meant perhaps to sustain the heavy stone structure above the hollow stone *vimana.* There is a narrow path of circumambulation (*pradakshina-patha*) to serve as a passage for the benefit of the devotees. The circular *mulasthana* (the *sanctum*) is enclosed by a square structure 21 feet (6.7m.) each side in the interior and 29 feet (8.8m) in the exterior. The *linga* is cylindrical.

The walls of the *garbhagriha* are adorned with plain pilasters, and there are no niches (*devakoshtas*) on its walls for installing images, which we generally find in Pallava and Chola Temples of the 9th and 10th centuries.

There is a covered *ardhamandapa* in front of the *sanctum.* It is supported by six pillars in the centre, and has a wall of enclosure whose exterior is interspersed with pilasters having plain and angular bracket capitals. It has a flat roof. The pillars within the *mandapa* are cubical at the base and octagonal in the middle, and they have bracket capitals whose underside has a roll-ornament with a median-band. A thick cornice (*kodungai*) adorned with *kudus,* runs all round. Over this there is a parapet wall decorated with a series of miniature shrines called *panjaras.* Those at the

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edges are cubical in form with a four-sided curvilinear roof (*kutas*) while in the centre there is a rectangular structure with a wagon-roof over it (*sala*). In the interspace (*nasi*), jutting over the parapet, are graceful dancing figures. The roofs of the parapet wall over the *garbhagriha* and of the *ardhamandapa* merge with the second tier of the *vimana*. Above this, there rises a third tier, a diminishing structure with features similar to those of the lower tier.

The next higher tier, the fourth, is circular, to match the circular *mulasthana* down below, and is adorned with *kudus* on its cornice. Higher up, there is the *griva* (neck), also circular in form, with bulls at the four corners and with niches surmounted by large-size *kudus* facing the four main directions. The whole *vimana* is crowned by a beautiful semi-circular *sikhara*. The stone *stupi* (finial), which should have once graced it, is missing. Images of Vinadhara Dakshinamurti and Uma-Sahita were found in the upper niches. The *vimana* should have been modelled on the style of the Pallava monuments of Mamallapuram and Kanchipuram.

The main gateway of the central shrine in front of the *ardhamandapa* has a fine floral design above the lintel.

There are two *dvarapalas* of great artistic merit at the entrance to the *ardhamandapa*, though in some temples they are placed at the entrance to the *mulasthana* itself.

Each is five feet (1.5m) high and has two hands — one resting on a club and the other in *vismaya* ("wondering") pose. The *jatamakutas* and the *prabhavali* over them, the armlets, bracelets, necklaces, belts over the abdomen and the hip, the rolled type of the sacred thread (*yajnopavita*) with tassels and bells — these can be considered typical features of sculptures of the age of Vijayalaya. (pl. 11–a).

There are now six (out of the eight) sub shrines round about the main shrine. Each has a square *sanctum* with a bulbous *sikhara* over it and a rectangular open *mandapa* in front. It is one-storeyed (*eka-tala*).

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When I was engaged in the investigation of the age of the monument as early as 1933, I discovered an unpublished inscription under the basement of the *dvarapala* (pl. 11-a) on the left side of the gateway. Here is the text of the inscription (pl. 11-b):—

"Svasti Sri Sembudiyana Ilangova — di araiyar eduppitta Karrali malai i — dittaliya Mallan Viduman ayina Te — nnavan Tamiladi Araiyar pudukku ".

It records that the stone-temple was built by one Sembudi *alias* Ilangovadi Araiyan (a local Irukkuvel chief), and that it suffered damage by heavy rains and was repaired (Pudukku = repairs) by one Mallan Viduman *alias* Tennavan Tamiladiyaraiyan. We are not vouchsafed the extent of the damage and the time that elapsed between the original construction of the temple and the repairs of the damage caused by the rains. It could not have been a long interval. Anyhow the repairs should have closely followed the pattern of the original structure. While discussing the building, and the reconstruction after its destruction by rains, of the Vijayalaya Cholisvaram, K. R. Venkataraman (in his "Manual of the Pudukkottai State", Part I, pp. 565-68) identified Ilangovadi Muttaraiyan *alias* Maran Paramesvaran, Chief No. 2 of the Sendalai (Niyamam) inscription (who belongs to the time of the Pallava King Nandivarman II or even to that of his predecessor i.e. 8th century A. D.) with Sembudi *alias* Ilangovadi Araiyar, the builder of the original temple of the Vijayalaya Cholisvaram, and further holds that "he was perhaps the first to build a stone structural temple in the Pudukkottai territory. This is probable, for the building of structural temples in stone, called after him 'Rajasimha style' of Pallava architecture, came into vogue in the time of Rajasimha, who, according to our scheme, was the contemporary of the father of this Muttaraiya chief. It is probable that the original structure which was destroyed was rebuilt a *century and a half later* in the time of Vijayalaya Chola by Mallan Viduman", and further adds that "Mallan Viduman must have repaired it in the reign of

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Vijayalaya, the founder of the imperial line of Cholas, since the temple is named Vijayalaya Cholisvaram" (p. 1074, Vol. II, Part II of the *Manual*).

Here is the genealogy of the *Sendalai chiefs* (Nemam or Niyamam) :—

i. Perumpidugu Muttaraiyan *alias* Kuvavan Maran.

ii. Ilangovadi Muttaraiyan *alias* Maran Paramesvaran.

iii. Perumpidugu Muttaraiyan *alias* Suvaran Maran (the contemporary and General of Pallava Nandivarman II *alias* Pallava Malla — A.D. 731-796)

The Chief No. 2 of the Muttaraiyars mentioned in the Sendalai inscription is separated from the period of Vijayalaya by (more than) a century and a half, as admitted by K. R. Venkataraman. In case *Sembudi Ilangovadi Araiyan* belonged to the time of Nandivarman II or his predecessor, because he is *identified with chief No.* 2 who is the father of chief No. 3, a general of Nandivarman II (A.D. 731-796), and if he was the builder of the temple now called Vijayalaya Cholisvaram, the temple should have been named Sembudisvaram or Nandivarma Pallavesvaram — contemporaneous with the Vaikunthanatha Perumal Temple at Kanchipuram. But this is *not* the case as this is a *Chola* temple of the 9th century A.D. I do not fancy the passage of a period of a century and a half separating the construction of this temple and its damage by rains and reconstruction. I hold that Sembudi Ilangovadi Araiyar belonged to the age of Vijayalaya, that he was the builder of the temple in the days of Vijayalaya, that (lightning and) rains destroyed the temple within a few years of its consecration and that it was reconstructed very probably with all the old materials and in the same form and style by Mallan Viduman *alias* Tennavan Tamiladi Araiyan — perhaps this too before the close of the reign of Vijayalaya.

In any case, I am of opinion that this is a temple of the days of Vijayalaya, not of the days of Nandivarman II

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or of his predecessor. Vijayalaya Chola (A.D. 850-871) had made himself master of Tanjai (Tanjavur) and Vallam by overthrowing the local Muttaraiyars and embarked on a vigorous campaign of expansion. Nrpatunga Pallava (A.D. 855-896) was his Pallava contemporary, and an inscription of the seventh year of this Pallava ruler (A.D. 862) is found on the basement of the Siva temple of Cave II. Vijayalaya Chola was succeeded by his son Aditya Chola I in A.D. 871. Hence, the region of Narttamalai should have passed into the hands of Vijayalaya between A.D. 862 and 871 and it continued in Chola possession till the 13th century. The original Vijayalaya Cholisvaram temple should have been constructed during this short interval in the second half of the 9th century. There are a few wonderful Chola temples in the region round about, which could be ascribed to the age of Vijayalaya. They are found within the limits of the area covered by the region of Tanjavur and Pudukkottai.

Hence we are irresistibly led to the conclusion that the Vijayalaya Cholisvaram temple at Narttamalai belongs to the age of Vijayalaya. It is unique in many respects. It is four tiered, and it is the earliest and grandest of the early Chola structural temples. It is built of stone. It has a circular *garbhagriha* (in *Pranava* form) and a wonderful *vimana*. At least six out of eight subshrines are found here. Though there are now no idols in them, their style and their position in the general lay-out are clearly brought out. A number of excellent sculptures of this temple, the Saptamatrikas, Vinadhara Dakshinamurti and others (pls. 13-b to 17-b), are now in the Government Museum at Pudukkottai. Above all it is the fore-runner of the glorious monuments of the Cholas.*

Kaliyapatti Temple

Kaliyapatti

Kaliyapatti is a small village in the Kulattur Taluk of

*See Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. VII–Part IV; Vol. VIII-Parts I, II and III.

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Pudukkottai division (of Tiruchy district in Madras State), ten miles (16·1 km.) from Kiranur and twenty-five miles (40.2 km.) from the town of Pudukkottai.

This is one of the earliest of Chola temples built of stone during the reign of Vijayalaya. This temple should be considered the best among the single-storeyed (*eka-tala-prasada*) temples of his age that have come down to us (pl. 18-a, b).

It faces the east. Its *garbhagriha*, the *griva* and the *sikhara* are intact. The *stupi* and the *ardhamandapa* have disappeared.

The *garbhagriha* is eight feet (2.4 m.) square. Its walls are a foot and a half (0.46 m.) thick. They are adorned with pilasters, four on each side. Their brackets have an angular profile similar to those of the Vijayalaya Cholisvaram at Narttamalai and the Siva temple at Tiruppur. There are no niches (*devakoshtas*) on the walls of the *garbhagriha* to house the usual deities. The cornice has, on each side, two *kudus*, well-adorned with scroll-work. Each corner of the cornice ends with a beautiful scroll (*kodikkarukku*). Above the cornice, there runs a frieze of *yalis*. Higher up we have a square *griva* with four *koshtas* (niches) one on each side adorned with *kudus* above. These and the four corners of the *sikhara* are ornamented with scrolls of uncommon elegance and charm.

The *sikhara* is four-sided with an elegant curvilinear bend similar to that of the later temple of Muvarkoyil at Kodumbalur (10th century A.D.). There is a layer of *ratnapitham*, and above it a *padmapitham*. The *stupi* which adorned it is missing and its style should have been similar to that of the Muvarkoyil temple.

In front of the *sanctum*, there was an *ardhamandapa* — six feet (1.8 m.) square — now no longer in existence. Its moulded basement alone is found in continuation of the plinth of the *garbhagriha*. The basement of the *Nandi-mandapa* and traces of those of a few sub-shrines can be seen; also the basement of the front gateway and of the

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walls of enclosure (*madil*) enclosing the whole set of shrines. The Nandi figures lying on the floor should have once adorned the four corners of the *griva* and the image of Dakshinamurti of the southern niche of the *vimana* also lies on the ground.

On the south wall of the *garbhagriha* of this temple, I was able to discover an unpublished and fragmentary inscription of the 18th year of Parakesarivarman which helped me to fix the date of this temple. The script is of the ninth century. According to the prevailing tradition of the Cholas, the kings assumed alternately the titles of Parakesarivarman and Rajakesarivarman, and the earliest Chola king having the title of Parakesarivarman is Vijayalaya. In all stone inscriptions of his own time, Vijayalaya is styled only Parakesarivarman, but a few later Chola inscriptions mention both his name and title. In an inscription at Vira Cholapuram, he is called '*Tanjai-kotta Parakesari*' (the Conqueror of Tanjavur). After Vijayalaya, the next Parakesarivarman is his grand-son Parantaka I (A.D. 907-955). He assumes the title of Madiraikonda Parakesari — the Conqueror of Madurai— even from the third year of his accession. As this new inscription is of the 18th year of a Parakesari, without the title of Madiraikonda, and as its script is archaic enough to be ascribed to the ninth century, it could safely be concluded that this Parakesari is none other than Vijayalaya and this inscription should belong to A. D. 868.

This is the smallest and the best among the early Chola temples. Its scroll work is of exquisite workmanship (see Journal of Oriental Research, Madras Vol. XII Pt. I for my article on this temple).

Agastisvara (Paramesvara) Temple

Panangudi

This fine Siva temple of Vijayalaya's period is found in the village of Panangudi (Kulattur Taluk, Pudukkottai) about nine miles (14.5 km.) from the town of Pudukkottai and a little to the south of the famous rock-cut Jaina cave

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temple of Sittannavasal. It is situated on the Southern bund of the tank of the village.

It is built of stone from the basement to the finial. This single-storeyed temple is complete with its original *sikhara* and *stupi*. It consists of the *garbhagriha* (*Sanctum*) and the *ardhamandapa*. The basement of the Nandi *mandapa* and of one of the subshrines can be traced. We can also trace the moulded basement of the *mukhamandapa* buried below the surface of the ground (pls. 19-a,b).

On plan, the *garbhagriha* is nine feet (2.7m) square in the exterior and five feet (1.5m) square in the interior. The outer walls are adorned with pilasters decorated with elegant scroll work. Their carbels are plain and angular. There are niches (*devakoshtas*) on the walls of the *garbhagriha*, but no idols are found in them now. The *ardhamandapa* is intact and forms an integral part of the original temple. The cornice is provided with *kudus* crowned with trifoliated pieces of stone. Its corners are decorated with scroll work. There is a frieze of *bhutaganas* below the cornice and a *yali* frieze above it with *makara* heads at the corners. The *griva* above it is four-sided with a niche in the centre of each of the four sides for idols. The niches are surmounted by large beautiful *kudus* crowned with *simha* heads projecting into the *sikhara*. In the niches are installed fine stone images of Indra, Dakshhinamurti, Vishnu and Brahma. Each of them is one foot two inches (0.36m) high.

The *sikhara* is four-sided and curvilinear. At the top we have two layers of *ratna* and *padma pithams*. The stone *stupi* is also four-sided in keeping with the shape of the *sikhara*.

Images of Jyesthadevi, Ganapati, a Naga and four Nandi figures were found buried in the ground. Jyesthadevi should have been one of the deities of the sub-shrines of the original temple.

In addition to two inscriptions, already published by the State Department — one of the Chola king Kulottunga

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III (acc. A.D. 1178), and another of the Pandya king Maravarman Kulasekhara — I discovered on the north wall of the temple an (unpublished) inscription (pl. 19-b) of the 14th year of a *Ko-Parakesarivarman*. In this new inscription, the presiding deity is called "*Panangudi Paramesvaran*". On the strength of the archaic nature of the script, I assign it to the period of Vijayalaya Chola*.

Bhumisvara Temple

Viralur

Viralur is three miles (4.8 km.) from Kodumbalur, and a mile and a half (2.4 km) from Viralimalai which is 18 miles (25.7 km) from Tiruchy on the trunk road to Madurai. In the past, it should have been part of *Viraliyur*, and the modern village of Viralimalai was then known as Viraliyurmalai.

Viralimalai is now famous for the temple of Subrahmanya on the hill; but the Bhumisvara Siva temple (pl. 20) of Viralur is of greater antiquarian interest. It should be considered an early Chola temple of Vijayalaya's days.

The temple faces the east. It is a *karrali* of the *ekatala* variety. The original Chola temple consisted of a *garbhagriha* and an *ardhamandapa*. The *garbhagriha* is square. The plinth has plain mouldings. The walls of the *garbhagriha* are adorned with tetragonal pilasters and the corbels have plain bevelled brackets. The cornice is thick and single-arched and it is adorned with *kudus*. Above the cornice there is a *yali*-frieze. There are three niches on the walls of the *garbhagriha*. Instead of the usual Brahma, there is a sculpture of Bhikshatana in the northern niche; the western niche has a standing figure of Vishnu. Dakshinamurti which might have been housed in the southern niche of the temple is lying on the ground of the compound outside the temple. Sculptures of Jyestha and Ganesa, probably of the sub-shrines, are also found here. There are no niches on the walls of the *ardhamandapa*.

* See Journal of the Madras University Vol. XIII No. 1 for my article on this temple.

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The *griva* is circular, the *sikhara* bell-shaped, and the *stupi* bulbous. There are figure-niches in the *griva* having *kudus* crowned with *simha* heads. These niches are now empty. There are traces of sub-shrines all round the main shrine.

Unfortunately there are no inscriptions on the walls of the temple. But considering the architectural features, we can assign it to the days of Vijayalaya. Its grandeur lies in the simplicity of its structure, the nobility of its sculptures and the fine bell-shaped *sikhara* crowned by a bulbous *stupi*.

Margasahayesvara Temple

Visalur

Visalur is 22 miles (35.4 km.) from the town of Pudukkottai, 8 miles (12.9 km) from Kiranur on the Kiranur-Killukkottai road.

The original temple is a *karrali* and an *eka-tala* structure like the temples of Kaliyapatti and Panangudi. Though plain and simple, it is a grand structure and very well preserved.

The plinth has plain mouldings. There are no niches on the walls of the *garbhagriha*. Its walls are adorned with four simple pilasters, crowned with bevelled corbels. There is no *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice which is single-arched and adorned with *kudus*. There is a *yali* frieze above the cornice.

The *garbhagriha* is a square of side 8 feet 6 inches (2.6 m) in the exterior and 4 feet 8 inches (1.4m.) in the interior.

The square *griva* has four bulls at the four corners and the figure-niches are crowned with *kudus* surmounted with lion heads. Dakshinamurti, Vishnu and Brahma are found in the niches of the *griva*.

The *ardhamandapa* projects forward 5 ft. 6 inches (1.7 m.) in the same axis, and is of the same age.

The *sikhara* is square and curvilinear. Above the *ratna* and *padma pitham* is the four-sided *stupi*.

On grounds of architectural features, this temple can

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be assigned to the age of Vijayalaya. It is well preserved and stands intact unlike Tiruppur. The usual later architectural additions and developments in relation to the original main shrine can well be studied here.

Tiruppur Temple

Tiruppur

Tiruppur is a village in the Kulattur Taluk about 20 miles (32.2 km.) from the town of Pudukkottai and five miles (8.1 km.) from Kiranur.

The Siva temple (pl. 21) in this village stands in the north-west corner of the village, on the bund of the local tank. It is a single-storeyed structural stone temple, facing east. Its *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* form an integral unit, but the top portion of the *sikhara* and the *stupi* are missing.

On plan, the *garbhagriha* is a square measuring 7 feet 9 inches (2.4 m). The walls are one foot nine inches (0.53m) thick and the *ardhamandapa*, integrated with the *garbhagriha*, is a square six feet (1.8m) side. It has a closed *mandapa* with a gateway in front measuring 3 feet 2 inches (0.97m) by 2 feet 3 inches (0.69m). On each of the three sides of the *garbhagriha*, there are two pillars at the ends and two pilasters in the middle. Their corbels have an angular profile. There are no *devakoshtas*. The cornice has two *kudus* on each side and above it runs a *yali*-frieze.

The *griva* is four-sided in keeping with the square *garbhagriha* and there are niches on the four sides crowned with lion heads. The *sikhara* seems to have been covered with scroll work. In shape and style, it should have been four-sided and curvilinear similar to that of Kaliyapatti. Only Brahma in the northern niche of the *griva* is in position. The images of Vishnu and Dakshinamurti and the *Nandis* which might have adorned the edges of the *griva* lie loose on the ground.

There are now no traces of any sub-shrines. On the north-east side, there is a shrine of the Goddess of a later age built of laterite.

No inscription has been traced on the walls of this temple.

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Because of its stylistic affinity to the temples of Kaliyapatti and Panangudi, this can be assigned to the age of Vijayalaya.*

Enadi Temple

Enadi

Similar in style to the Tiruppur temple is the Siva temple (pl. 22) at Enadi, a village in the Tirumayam Taluk of the Pudukkottai division of the Tiruchy district.

It is an *ekatala* variety—a solid and square structural stone temple. It has plain mouldings in the basement. The *garbhagriha* walls are adorned with two pilasters in the middle and two pillars at the ends. They have bracket capitals. The cornice is arched and heavy and is adorned with *kudus*. There is a *yali* frieze above the cornice. The *griva* is four-sided and the *sikhara* is four-sided and curvilinear. Four big *kudus* one on each side crowned with lion heads in the centre, and scroll work at the edges, adorn the *sikhara*. The *stupi* too is four-sided.

The original shrine seems to have consisted only of the *garbhagriha*. The addition of an open mandapa resting on two stout cubical pillars in front and on the cornice of the main shrine at the back seems to have been an after-thought, as this structure is not properly integrated.

In shape and style, it seems to be an imitation of the miniature shrine carved in front of the '*Ganga Avatarana*' sculptures (or Arjuna's Penance) at Mamallapuram.

This temple can be assigned to the Vijayalaya period and it represents perhaps an earlier phase of architectural development.

Sri Ranganatha (Tiru-Arangattup-Perumanadigal) Temple

Srirangam

The Ranganatha temple of Srirangam is one of the oldest and most venerated of Vaishnavite temples of the Tamil Nad. Srirangam is to the Vaishnavites what Chidambaram is to the Saivites. It is the '*Koyil*' (The Temple) of the Vaishnavites.

* See Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. XII, Pt. IV.

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The early Cholas seem to have been closely associated with this place. The pillars to the right and left of the entrance to the threshing floor situated in the fourth *prakara* of this temple contain the earliest Chola inscriptions of this place. They are of the 2nd year of Parakesari (perhaps Vijayalaya), of the 4th and 26th years of Rajakesarivarman (Aditya I), and of the 17th and 28th years of Madiraikonda Parakesari (Parantaka I) (69 to 73 of 1892). Perhaps, these pillars were the jambs of the original *sanctum* of this temple. In that case, this temple should have been in existence during the period covered by the reigns of the early Chola rulers from Vijayalaya to Parantaka I.

These inscriptions provide for lamps, feeding of learned Vaishnavas and for the sacred bath of the deity. The Lord is called *Sri Arangattup-Perumanadigal*. There is mention of a *Sabha* of Tiruvarangam which managed the endowments and other affairs of the temple, and the charities were placed under the protection of the Vaishnavas (*Sri Yaishnava-rakshai*).

The present temple belongs to the *Uttamottama* class of temples complete with seven *avaranas* (*prakaras*) together with their *avarana devas* (subsidiary deities). It is one of the few temples of Tamilnad having a long-recorded history, almost from historical times to the present day.

Tiruvellarai

Tiruvellarai is about 12 miles (19.3 km.) northwest of Tiruchy. The earliest inscription in this place is one of the fifth year of Dantivarman who is called here a scion of the Bharadvaja *gotra* and of the Pallava *kula*. It is engraved on a stone of the *Svastika well*, called in the inscription *Nalumulaik-Keni*, south of the Vishnu temple of Pundarikaksha Perumal. It records the construction of this well called *Marpidigu Perunginaru* evidently after the surname of Dantivarman, by one Kamban Araiyan, the younger brother of Visaya Nallulan. It was commenced in the 4th year and completed in the 5th year of Dantivarman. The same Visaya Nallulan figures as a donor in an inscription of

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the 10th year of Nandivarman III, and this inscription is found on the third pillar in the rock-cut (cave) Vishnu temple south of the later structural temple of Pundarikaksha. This rock-cut cave temple seems to be a foundation of Dantivarman's age. It may be of interest to mention that *Visaiya Nallulan of Alambakkam* figures as *anatti* (the executor of the grant) of the *Pattattalmangalam grant* of *Nandivarman* II issued in his 61st year (E.I. XVIII No. 14 pp. 22-32). It is likely that he continued to serve in that capacity also in the early years of Dantivarman.

K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar (E.I.XI 541 of 1905) mentions that "the well should have been named either after the reigning king or a local chief under him. That it was not called after the builder is evident from the fact that he bore a different name. *Nor do we know that Dantivarman had the surname Marppidugu*"; but further hazards the opinion that there was in ancient times a *family of kings* called *Muttaraiyars* ruling round about Sendalai, who assumed the surnames *Perumpidugu* and *Videlvidugu* and the name of *Marpidugu* might be the *name of a feudatory of Dantivarman belonging to the Muttaraiyar family*. This suggestion is far-fetched. The names *Perumpidugu* and *Videlvidugu* assumed by the Muttaraiyars were themselves the surnames of their Pallava overlords. There is no evidence at all of any Muttaraiyar chief having been connected with this place. The village of Alambakkam was called *Dantivarmamangalam* and the tank there *Marpidugu eri*. The *Svastika* well here is known as *Marpidugu Perunginaru*. Hence, I am inclined to infer that *Marpidugu* should have been the surname of Dantivarman — not of any Muttaraiyar feudatory.

Perungavidi Sadaiyan Palli

In the sixth year of '*Danti-Nandi*', which should be interpreted as Nandi (varman) III, son of Danti (varman), there is reference to a *jain* temple, called Perungavidi Sadaiyan Palli, and a Pallava feudatory, Marpidugu Ilango Sattan is mentioned. Perhaps he was the builder

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of this jain temple (88 of 1910).

Krishna – Rukmini Temple

The modern Vishnu temple of Pundarikaksha is a structure of a later date, and the earlier Vishnu temple of this place should have been the rock-cut cave itself, which has features of the monuments of the later Pallavas. The four pillars in the centre of the big cave are square in section, fluted in the centre and with corbels having the roll-ornament of the late Pallava age. On the second pillar, there is an inscription of the 15th year of a Parakesarivarman and on another pillar, an inscription of a Rajakesarivarman. It is very probable that they relate to Vijayalaya and Aditya I (535 and 532 of 1905). The second pillar contains an inscription of the 8th year of Parakesarivarman. It refers to a gift by Irayiran Devi Ammanar, the queen of *Udaiyar Anaimerrunjinar* who is to be identified with *Rajaditya*, the eldest son of Parantaka I who was killed in the battle of Takkolam (A.D. 949). She gave 20 *kalanjus* of gold to "Sri *Krishna and Rukmini of the big temple at Tiruvellarai*" (534 of 1905 — and SII. III, 3, No. 132). Perhaps this temple of Krishna and Rukmini was a foundation of Dantivarman himself. Inscription No. 540 of 1905 mentions God *Krishna* and also refers to the setting up of an image of his Consort *Rukmini* in the big temple at Tiruvellarai. Anyhow, this is the earliest epigraphical reference to the Krishna cult in the Tamil land. It is a pity that neither the shrine nor the images could be identified or traced. H. K. Sastri is inclined to attribute this Parakesari record to Uttama Chola but if Arinjaya had a reign of about 9 years as generally assumed, it would be more appropriate to assign it to Parakesari Arinjaya than to Uttama Chola. But there is so much overlapping of reigns and uncertainty in arriving at a definite chronology in the post-Parantaka period, that any stand could be assailed.

An inscription of the 5th year of "Parakesarivarman who took the head of Vira Pandya" on the second pillar

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should refer to Adtiya II.

Three inscriptions of Rajaraja I refer to allotments for daily expenditure and a gift of gold.

This cave temple seems to have been later abandoned in favour of the present bigger structural temple which should have been raised by the followers of Pundarikaksha, Nathamuni's successor. Periyalvar and Tirumangai Alvar have sung hymns in praise of the Lord of this place.

Tiruvanaikka or Jambunatha Temple

The third temple at Tiruvellarai is the rock-cut cave temple dedicated to the Lord of Tiruvanaikka or Jambunatha (pl. 23-a, b). This temple is different from the more famous temple of the same name close to Srirangam. The local Siva cave temple lies on a low rocky elevation between the main road and the Vishnu temple.

There are two Parakesarivarman inscriptions in this temple. One of the third year refers to a gift of land to Tiruvanaikka Perumanadigal at Tiruvellarai, and the land is said to have been situated to the west of the channel called Miyur-Vayttalai of the *brahmadeya* village of Nrpatungamangalam (81 of 1910). This may be ascribed to Vijayalaya. The other inscription of the 9th year refers to a gift of gold by an officer of the king, a native of Idaikkadu in Pandinadu. Perhaps this is an early inscription of Parantaka I, because of the mention of Pandinadu.

There are four Rajakesari inscriptions — 2nd, 3rd, 25th and 30th years (514, 519, 522 and 518 of 1905). Of these, at least the last two with high regnal years should be assigned to Aditya I. They relate to endowments for lamps and for feeding brahmans well-versed in the Vedas.

Parantaka I's inscriptions relating to this temple range from his 2nd to his 40th year. The temple is named as that of Tiruvanaikka Perumanadigal or Bhattarakar at Tiruvellarai. One of his 37th year makes provision for the feeding, in the temple, of a Vedic scholar.

The Siva temple faces the west and has three rock-cut

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cellas. One is empty, there is a linga in the central cella, and in the third cella there are Ganesa and Vishnu. "The cave consists of a cell cut into the rock with two niches on either side. Of the two to the right, the first contains an image of Vishnu while the second enshrines the God Ganesa. In the two niches on the left side are put in stone images of a later date. The front part of the cave may be described as a verandah with four pillars cut out of the same rock".

The early Chola inscriptions are carved on the face of the low rock in the west opposite to the gateway.

The main structural temple facing the south has a linga and in the northern niche at the back of the shrine is an image of a standing Brahma of excellent workmanship.

There is also a Saptamatrika group of the early Chola age.

Chidambaram

Chidambaram, which lies on the Madras – Dhanushkodi line of the Southern Railway, is even today a very important religious centre in South India. Here is one of the most celebrated of Dravidian temples. It is a great centre of the synthesis of Dravidian and Aryan culture, the home of Advaita and Saivasiddhanta philosophies, and the cradle of the Nataraja – cult, which aimed at the integration of philosophy, religion and art.

Nataraja Temple and Anantesvaram Temple

The origin of most religious centres is lost in oblivion. Tillai, as Chidambaram was originally called, had a *linga* which later on came to be known as the Tirumulasthanattar, under the shade of a tree by the side of a holy tank.

Local traditions mention that Hiranyavarman, a king of a northern kingdom in the *Yamuna* doab named Antarvedi suffering from leprosy, relinquished his kingdom and came to South India on a pilgrimage. At Tillai, Vyaghrapada advised him to bathe in the holy tank and offer worship to the Lord of Dance. And Lo ! the king was

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cured of his foul disease. So Hiranyavarman built a temple for the Lord and Vyaghrapada had him crowned king of Tillai which now came to be known as Vyaghrapuri or Vyaghra-Agrahara or Perumparrappuliyur. He claims to be a Chola and had the tiger flag as his crest which later on the Cholas of the Vijayalaya line adopted.

In the 7th century A. D. during the days of Appar and Sambandar (the contemporaries of Mahendravarman I Pallava), Chidambaram became a Saivite centre of great renown. The present structure of the Nataraja temple should be ascribed to the age of the Later Cholas. The earliest Chola inscriptions at Chidambaram were however, found on the walls of the Anantisvaram temple in the western part of the city before its recent renovation. The temple enshrines the *linga* believed to have been worshipped by Patanjali. These inscriptions could be assigned to Vijayalaya and Parantaka I (pl. 24-a, b, c).

(See Journal of the Annamalai University — Vols. XII and XIII on the oldest Chidambaram inscriptions.).

i. *Tirukkamesvara Temple*
ii. *Kaliyaditta Vinnagar*
iii. *Sankaranarayana Temple*

Kappalur

Kappalur — called in inscriptions Kamapputtur — is in the North Arcot district, 50 miles north of Virasolapuram where an inscription of the 3rd year of Vijayalaya Chola was discovered. There were three early Chola temples here — one of Siva, another of Vishnu and the third of Sankaranarayana. The Siva temple now called the *Tirukkamesvara* temple is named *Tirukkammai nakkar* in inscriptions; it contains two fragmentary Pallava inscriptions one (of the 3rd year) of Dantivarman and another of Kampavarman (whose regnal year is lost); so the temple should have existed at the end of the 8th century.

The Government Epigraphist holds that the earliest Chola inscription here is one of the 8th year of Parakesarivarman;

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it records a gift of money for feeding Brahmans in the local temple by *Gangapperundevi, the wife of Kamadigal, son of Madevar of Pangala nadu.* "This *Madevar* is known to have been a subordinate under Pallava Kampavarman (Ep. Ind. VII, p. 193). As the writing of the inscription also closely resembles that of the records of Kampavarman found in the same place (no. 282) it may be assigned to that period. Hence it is reasonable to identify the Parakesari of this inscription with *Vijayalaya*".

If Vijayalaya had conquered it in his eighth year, it should have been lost subsequently; for there is an inscription dated, not in a regnal year of a ruling king, but in Saka 826 (= c. 904 A. D.) which falls towards the closing period of Aditya I (271 of 1938-39). It registers an endowment of land as *deva-bhoga* to a Vishnu temple in this place by a local chief Nandiposar Taliperuman. This clearly indicates that the period was one of political unrest and that the land remained without paying allegiance to any recognized sovereign power. There are two inscriptions of the 3rd year of Parakesarivarman (286 and 263 of 1938-39) and one of his 13th year (268 of 1938-39), which could be assigned to Parantaka I, and this would imply the reconquest of this region by Parantaka I. According to the recently discovered Karandai Tamil Sangam copper plates, the final credit for the extinction of Pallava power in Tondaimandalam is claimed by Parantaka I.

The inscription of the 3rd year of Parakesarivarman (286 of 1938-39) engraved on the wall of the Saptamatrika shrine in this temple mentions a gift of land to the temple of *Sankaranarayana* by one *Gangamartanda alias Prithivigangaraiyar* and *his son* whose name is lost. This donor figures in an inscription from *Tiruppalanam* (Tanjavur District) of the 26th year of Rajakesarivarman *alias* Aditya I (no. 177 of 1928); and therefore this inscription could be assigned on absolutely safe grounds to Parantaka I. It will be seen from the genealogy of the Pangala nadu chiefs published in para 8 of the Epigraphical Report for 1930-31, that

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Gangamartanda devar *alias* Sembiyan Prithivigangaraiyan is the son of Mahadeva; and *Kamadigal* figuring in the inscription of the 8th year of Parakesarivarman (283/1933-39) should therefore be a brother of *Gangamartanda.*

Another inscription of the 3rd year of Parakesarivarman, (263 of 1938-39), which can also be assigned to Parantaka I, refers to a gift of a lamp to the temple of *Kaliyaditta Vishnugriha Deva* — a Vishnu temple — by a native of Peruvengur in Miladu-nadu.

An endowment of land for Vedic study – *Chhandogya-Kidaippuram*-was made in the 13th year of Parakesarivarman who can be identified with Parantaka I — by a member of the *alunganam* (executive committee of the local Assembly) of the village who purchased the land for the purpose from the local Assembly.

An inscription of the 25th year of Parakesarivarman who bears the title of Madiraikonda – Parantaka I – mentions an endowment of money entrusted with the Sabha by three persons — one of whom is *Pillaiyar Kodandaraman*, one of the sons of Parantaka I — for the purpose of clearing silt in the local tank.

The conquest of this region by the Rashtrakuta King Krishna III is attested by three inscriptions all of his 25th year (A. D. 965). The gifts are for lamps and for *Bhattavrtti.*

Another grant for Vedic study was made in the 6th year of Rajakesarivarman who took Madurai — who may be identified with Sundara Chola (270 of 1938-39).

There are four inscriptions of "Parakesarivarman who took the head of Vira Pandya", and they could be assigned to Aditya II. They record endowments both to the Siva temple and the Vishnu temple of *Kaliyaditta Vinnagar Devar.*

The Government Epigraphist suggests that the name of this Vishnu temple indicates that "it owes its origin to Aditya II Karikala II". This suggestion is untenble in view of the existence of this temple as early as in the third year of Parantaka I.

The local Siva temple can be assigned to the ninth century

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(pl. 25); and the Vishnu Temple at the latest to the tenth century.

Uttaramerur

Uttaramerur is about fifty miles (80.5 km.) by road to the south-west of the city of Madras and 16 miles (25.7 km.) from Kanchi and it emerges out of darkness in the days of the Pallava King Dantivarman (A.D. 785-836). There are three inscriptions of his (7th, 9th and 21st years) on the walls of the Vaikuntha Perumal temple, and one of his 10th year on the walls of the Sundara Varada Perumal Temple. These two temples are therefore Pallava foundations. *Vairamegha* seems to be another surname of Dantivarman in addition to *Marpidugu*, and the *Vairamegha Tatakam* should have been his creation or done under his inspiration.

In the days of his successor Nandivarman III (*Tellarerinda*) — (A. D. 835-860) there is mention of a temple of *Brahmesvara Grahattu Mahadevar* in the north-eastern corner of Uttarameru Chaturvedimangalam and a grant of land was made in the 24th year of his reign as *avirppuram* (food offerings) to this deity.

After the death of Nandivarman III, the Pallava dominion seems to have been shared by Nrpatunga and Vijaya-Kampavarman. Here we have inscriptions of both of them —Nrpatunga's 16th, 25th and 26th years (A. D. 871, 880 and 881 respectively) and Kampavarman's from his 6th to his 23rd years (A.D. 884-901). From the existence of an inscription of Nandi-Kampesvara found at Solapuram, Hultzsch made the suggestion that *Nandi-Kampa* is to be understood as *Kampa, son of Nandi*, and that Kampavarman might be regarded as another son of Nandivarman and therefore a brother of Nrpatunga (855-896). This plausible hypothesis may well stand till fresh light is thrown on this point. Kampavarman (A. D. 878-910) seems to have been a contemporary of Aditya I and Parantaka I.

The period covered by the last years of Nandivarman III and by the reigns of Nrpatunga and Kampavarman and Aparajita is exactly the period of the growth of the

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Chola power under Vijayalaya, Aditya I and Parantaka I.

The four *Parakesari* inscriptions of this place may be assigned to Vijayalaya. The first, of the 14th year (35 of 1898 — Vaikuntha Perumal temple) is a gift of 480 *kuli* of land to the *Durgai* of *Tittattil* by the *Sabha* of Uttaramerur, situated in its own division (*Kurram*) in Kaliyur *Kottam*. The second is an inscription of the 15th year (143rd day) of Parakesarivarman. The *Mahasabha* of Uttaramerur met in the big *mandapa* in the village and made tax-free the land gifted to the deity of Tiru-Ayodhyaip-perumanadigal, Rama housed in the Vaikuntha perumal temple, and ordered the grant to be inscribed on the temple wall (14 of 1898). Another, of the 16th year (257th day) is also about a similar transaction of exemption of tax on land gifted to the temple of Tittatturaiyin Vadakkil Mahadevar, a Siva temple in the southern hamlet of Uttaramerur (4 of 1898). The same donor makes another gift of land to the deity of Kurushetrap – Perumanadigal for *tiruchchennadai* (food offerings) and the *Perungurisabha* (general assembly) received the compensation amount and, after granting the tax-exemption, ordered the gift to be engraved on the temple walls. These records of Vijayalaya indicate the smooth functioning of local bodies after the transfer of power from the Pallavas to the Cholas. It seems very probable that this region was the bone of contention between the Cholas under Vijayalaya and Aditya I on the one side and of the Pallavas under Nrpatunga, Aparajita and Kampavarman on the other. And the final overthrow of Pallava power took place only in the days of Parantaka I. In the meanwhile, this region seems to have changed hands frequently.

There are four inscriptions of Rajakesarivarman. One of his eighth year records a gift of land for feeding daily twenty Brahmans in the shrine of Kurukshetra (40 of 1898). Another of his eighth year mentions a resolution of the *Perunguri Mahasabha* including the young and the old that after a certain date, *patti-Kadi* (?) was not to

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be collected, and the breach of the resolution was to be punished by the *Sradha – mantar* (persons interested in the public weal ?) (62 of 1898).

In the 17th year of Rajakesarivarman one Kadakadi Araiyar built two temples — an *Isvaralayam* (Siva temple) and *a Vishnugriham* (Vishnu temple) as *Samukhapradhishtai* (as *community* foundations) and the *Mahasabha* of Uttarameruchaturvedimangalam granted a *jivitam* (grant of land for maintenance) to the priests thereof. Is the Siva temple referred to here the same as the '*Irattaittaligai Isvaram*' near which the inscribed stone (91 of 1898) was found ? An inscription of the 26th year (280th day) of Rajakesarivarman records that one Nagandi Kramavittan gave a gift of 25 *kalanju* of gold for the maintenance of a water-shed in the *Pramani mandapa* (oath-hall) to be run from the month of Panguni to that of *Karttigai* (March to November) and the local *sabha* which received the gift declared that the members of the Tank Committee (*eri-variyam*) were to supervise the charity (75 of 1899). These four records of Rajakesarivarman may be ascribed to Aditya I. It is likely that Aditya I gradually eliminated the Pallava rule over this region nominally under Vijaya Kampa (6th to 23rd years) and Aparajita. A gift of Aparajita's 14th year (A. D. 893) is mentioned in an inscription of the 37th year of Kulottunga III (67 of 1898), and the final vestiges of Pallava power should have been eliminated during the reign of Parantaka I. The latest date of Aparajita is his 18th year when the Virattaneswara temple at Tiruttani was built (A. D. 897).

Parantaka's rule over Uttaramerur should have been a glorious chapter in the history of this place. The Sundaravarada Perumal temple is called the *Tulabharattali* and the earliest mention of this name is found in an inscription of the 15th year (182nd day) of Parantaka I (8 of 1898). And Parantaka I is credited with having performed several *Tulabharas* and *Hemagarbhas*. The Udayendiram plates of Prithivipati II (Verse 7) say that "he (Parantaka I)

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practised many meritorious acts and gifts as the *Hema-garbha*, the *Tulabhara*, gifts of land to Brahmans and the building of temples". Therefore, it is highly probable that Parantaka I himself performed a *Tulabhara* ceremony (weighing against gold) in this temple sometime before his fifteenth year and the temple of Sundaravarada Perumal, originally called "*Sri Veli Vishnu-griham*" or *Kongaraiyan Sri Koyil Vellaimurtip Perumanadigal*" at the time of its consecration in the latter part of the eighth century, came to be known also as the *Tulabharattali*. The mention of this name *Tulabhara Srikoyil* in an inscription of Rajaraja I (9th year — 158th day — 197 of 1923) might be construed as a reference to the old association of this temple with Parantaka's celebration or it may even be that Rajaraja I himself did in his own good time what his illustrious ancestor had done. It may be remembered that in his 29th year Rajaraja I performed a *Tulabhara* and his Queen *Hiranya-garbha* at Tiruvisalur (Vembarrur)*.

The latest inscription of Parantaka I is that of his 16th year and after the fall of Rajaditya at Takkolam (A. D. 949) this region must have passed into the hands of the Rashtra-kuta ruler Krishna III (Kannaradeva). There are three inscriptions of his (18th year — 89/1898; 23rd year — 296th day; 41/1898 and 25th year–77 of 1898). The one of his 25th year is interesting. It relates to a settlement (*Vyavasthai*) made by the *Perungurisabha* of Uttarmerur which met in day time on the platform of the Peram-balam. The Assembly decided that the punishment of

* There is an inscription (a copy of an older inscription) which mentions the year 22–perhaps of Nrpatunga–(38 of 1930-31) at Tirukkodik-kaval (Tanjavur District) according to which mention is made that *Vira-Maha-deviyar* queen of Nrpatunga performed here *Hiranyagarbha* and *Tulabhara* ceremonies, and presented 50 *kalanju* of gold from the treasure so weighed to the temple of Mahadeva in the village for offerings and lamp, but we have no information about her association with Uttaramerur. The only Pallava inscription on the *Tulabhara* temple is one of Dantivarman in addition to the foundation inscription of the *Kongaraiyar* (50 and 51 of 1898)–none at all of Nrpatunga or of his queen Vira Mahadeviyar. So we have to rule out the possibility of her having performed *Tulabharam* in this temple at Uttar-merur.

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evil-doers should be left to the decision of the Great Men in charge of the annual administration of the village, with the help of the *Sabha* if need be. The *Sabha* should deal with those who could not be dealt with by the village committee itself. The necessity for such a decision should have arisen from the existence of unruly elements in the body politic who might have found their private benefit in the public disorder which prevailed here consequent on the eclipse of the Chola power.

In the post – Parantaka I period, Parthivendradhipati who claims to have cut off the head of the Pandya king and whose identity remains a puzzle of Chola chronology, was in charge of this region and we have his inscriptions here from his second to his twelfth year. Perhaps he was mainly responsible for the restoration of Chola rule in Tondaimandalam before its final conquest under Rajaraja I.

The local temples

In addition to the temples already mentioned, we have reference to a large number of temples in the area within the jurisdiction of the *sabha* of Uttaramerur. We wonder if Brindavanattup Perumal, Govardhanattup Perumal, Kurukshetra Devar, Tiruvayppadi Peruman, Tiruvayodhyap Perumal refer to images of Krishna and Rama consecrated in the Vaikuntha Perumal or the Sundaravarada Perumal temple of this town. The temple of Tiruppulisvaram, situated about three miles and a half (5·7 km.) away north of Uttaramerur on the way to Kanchi, contains inscriptions of only the later Cholas — Kulottunga II and III; but this temple was within the limits and jurisdiction of the old city, the *Taniyur* (like a modern municipality) of Uttarameru-chaturvedimangalam and it finds mention in inscriptions of other temples in this city from the days of the Pallava Nrpatunga to those of Kulottunga III.*

**Note* :—The other temples mentioned in the local inscriptions are :—

1. The Subrahmanya temple (55/1898-Parthivendra) — north of Sundaravarada temple.

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Of all the local temples, the Vaikuntha Perumal has lost most of its old features and even the walls with their invaluable later Pallava and early Chola inscriptions of Kampavarman and Parantaka I are in a precarious and neglected condition; petty shops disfigure the premises. The famous inscriptions of Parantaka I prescribing the qualifications and disqualifications of the voters of the local bodies, and the conduct of elections by *kudavolai* (pot-tickets) to the various committees — *samvastara* variyam, *eri*-variyam, *totta* variyam, *panchavara* variyam and *pon* variyam are a unique record of the 10th century of the highest value to the students interested in the evolution of local self-governing institutions in India. We could ill-afford to lose them. This criminal neglect and indifference will continue so long as an enlightened public opinion does not assert itself. The inclusion of this temple as a protected monument under the fostering care of the Central Government is long overdue.

The Sundara – Varada Perumal Temple

There is an archaic inscription on the plinth of the southern side of this temple recording that this House of God of grandeur and glory was the work of Kongaraiyar. On the western side of the sanctum, we have an incomplete

2. The Kailasanatha temple (56/1898-Rajendra I)
3. The Kolambesvara temple (57/1898-Kulottunga I)—south of Sundara-varada temple.
4. The Madari Amman temple (Bhattari) (58/1898-Parantaka I) in the east
   (59/1898-Parthivendra)
   Saptamatrikas (60/1898-Parthivendra)
5. Tiru-Unniyur-Perumanadigal (28/1898-Parthivendra)
6. Raja Narayana Vinnagar (66/1898-Kulottunga I)
   (*nammur naduvil*-in the centre of our village).
7. Tittattur Mahadeva
   (in the north) — (4/1898-Parakesari-16th year)
8. Kumanpadi Mahadeva (25 and 27 of 1898–Parthivendra)
9. Kumanpadi Jyestha temple (10/1898-Parakesari)
10. Ulliyur Isvara Bhattarar (41/1898-Kannaradeva)
12. Vastu Pidarimar and Vadavayil Selvi (76/1898-Kulottunga III)
13. Ayyan Maha Sasta (15/1898-Parthivendra)-in the north.
14. Mullaivayil Mahadeva (31 of 1898-Kampavarman)

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inscription of the 10th year of Dantivarman. So this temple should have been a foundation of the days of Dantivarman — late 9th century (pls. 26, 27 – a,b).

Its earliest name as found in inscriptions on its walls is *Sri Veli Vishnugriham* or Sri Koyil *Vellaimurti Perumanadigal*. In the days of Parantaka I, it is called the *Tulabhara Sri Koyil* (or *tali*). The names of some of the deities housed in the temple — Vellaimurti Alvar, Tiruvayankulam Udaiyar (Krishna), Sri Raghava Deva, and Purushottama — find mention in inscriptions of Rajaraja I. In the days of Rajendra I, it is called the temple of Kongaraiyar *alias Rajendra Sola Vinnagar*. Another inscription of his mentions the image of Anantanarayana in the third storey of the temple. In the days of the later Cholas, Uttaramerur gets the surname of *Rajendrasola Chaturvedimangalam*, and in the days of *Rajaraja III*, *Ganda Gopala Chaturvedimangalam*, after a local over-mighty chief of Kanchi.

Next to the Vaikuntha Perumal temple of Kanchi built by Nandivarman Pallavamalla II, this is the grandest of the later Pallava temples.

It has a high plinth of well dressed granite stone. It is in three storeys like the Vaikuntha Perumal temple of Kanchi, and the tiers above the *garbhagriham* are of brick and mortar. It is said to be a temple built with 96 *vimanas* according to the rules prescribed by the Vaikhanasa Agama. It is considered a *Pancha Varada Kshetra* — worshipped by the Pancha-pandavas. Here is a list of the main deities of each sanctum and the respective *Parsva-devatas* —

		Principal deity		
Ground floor		- Sundaravaradan	- worshipped by	Bhima
Parsva-devatas	South niche	- Achyuta Standing	,, ,,	Arjuna
	West ,,	- Aniruddha	,, ,,	Nakula
	North ,,	- Kalyanavarada	,, ,,	Sahadeva
First floor		- Vaikunthanatha (Varadan)	,, ,,	Dharmaraja

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		- *Principal deity*
Parsva-devatas	South niche	- Krishna and Arjuna
	West „	- Yoga Nrsimha
	North „	- Lakshmi - Narayana
Second floor		- Ananta Narayana
		- (Ranganatha on Adisesha)
Parsvadevatas on the steps	South	- Bhrigu
	West	- Rati and Manmatha
	North	- Vak-Valli-Devi

Sokkesvara Temple (Kausikisvaram)

Kanchipuram

Kanchipuram shares with Ayodhya, Mathura, Hardvar, Kasi, Avanti, and Dvaraka, the honour of being one of the seven celebrated sacred cities of India. It was a great centre of Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism. Like Bhuvanesvar in Kalinga and Khajuraho in Central India, Kanchi is a city of temples.

It was the capital of the Pallavas, and later the secondary capital of the Cholas and of Vijayanagar rulers, and the seat of the Telugu Chodas after the decline of the Cholas. Manimekhalai is said to have wrought many miracles here. It was a great centre of learning. The *Ghatika* of Kanchi attracted scholars from far-off lands. Bharavi and Dandin adorned the Pallava Court. A Buddhist scholar of Kanchi rose to the rank of the President of Nalanda University. Sankara, erected a *Srichakra* in the temple of Goddess Kamakshi, and also established here a *matha* to Propagate *Advaita*. Ramanuja's *Visishtadvaita* struck deep roots here. Jina Kanchi is still a vital centre of Jainism.

The Pallava rulers have immortalised themselves by building structural stone temples in this city, the chief of them, the Kailasanatha and the Vaikuntha Perumal temples fortunately still spared to us. The Ekambaranatha and Varadaraja Perumal temples have exercised a profound and abiding influence on the lives of successive generations of Hindus — Saivite and Vaishnavite.

Kanchipuram seems to have passed into the hands of the

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Cholas even during the reign of Vijayalaya. The Kailasanatha temple inscription of the 4th year of Parakesarivarman (SII., I. No. 85) is ascribed to him. We have also reference to an endowment made in the 22nd year of Parakesarivarman, mentioned in the Madras Museum Plates of Uttama Chola which could refer only to Vijayalaya.

There is an inscription of the 15th year of Parakesarivarman on the southern wall of the Sokkesvara temple which is situated close to the Kamakshi Amman temple in this city. This may be assigned to Vijayalaya, though we could not verify the inscription on the spot as the inscribed wall is covered up. The inscription refers to a sale of land to the temple of *Terkku-Irunda-Nakkar* — now called Kausikisvaram (pls. 28 to 32).

It is a compact early Chola monument built entirely of stone. It is *eka-tala*. The *garbhagriha* is 19 feet (5·8m) square and the closed *ardhamandapa* projects forward by 5 feet 4 inches (1.6m). The walls are adorned with figure-niches and pilasters — two enclosing the niche and two at the end of the outer wall. There is a *torana* over each niche. Ganesa is the only figure of the *devakoshta* in its proper position; and the *torana* over the western niche has figures of *linga* and Parvati in worship. The figure of Dakshinamurti of the *koshta* is lying loose on the ground. There are no images in the other niches. Below the cornice, there is a frieze of lotuses instead of *bhutaganas*. The cornice is adorned with *kudus*. Above it, we have a *yali* frieze. The *griva* has niches on the four sides and is circular. The *sikhara* and the *stupi* (missing) are also circular, and resemble those of Viralur and Melpadi (Arinjigai Isvaram). Over the cornice of the *garbhagriha*, there is a *yali* frieze. In the *griva* portion there are four *devakoshtas* in the four directions with *kudus* crowned by *Simha*-heads. One of the *koshtas* has a figure of seated Nrsimha with *Yogapatta*. Unlike the other *vimanas* of of the Pallava and early Chola temples, there are only *Kutas* on the four corners of the *griva*, no *salas*. By

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timely scientific renovation we could save this fine early Chola temple.

Vidya - Vinita - Pallava - Paramesvaragriham

Kuram

Kuram is an important centre of Pallava culture and is situated about nine miles (14.5 Km.) north west of Kanchipuram. There are two temples here, one dedicated to Siva and the other to Vishnu.

The Siva temple is called the *Vidya-Vinita Pallavaparamesvaragriham* according to the Kuram plates of the Pallava king, Paramesvaravarman I (SII. Vol. I. pp. 144 ff.). There is a pillar lying in the compound of the ruined central shrine which contains an inscription of Narasimhavarman I which reads '*Sri Pallava Marasan Mamallan*'. (No. 39—A of 1900 and No. 42 of SII. VII). This would perhaps indicate the possible existence of a temple at the site even in the days of Narasimhavarman I; and it seems likely therefore that Vidya Vinita, a member of the Pallava royal family only rebuilt it on a grander scale and made a substantial endowment for its proper maintenance. The newly built temple has inscriptions of Dantivarman and Nrpatunga. There is also an inscription of the 27th year of Rajakesarivarman probably Aditya I on one of the pillars which mentions the Mahadeva of *Perum tirukkoyil*, (the big Siva temple) in this place. The *sabha* of Kuram received gold for a lamp from a goldsmith and directed the annual administrative committee to be responsible for the maintenance of the lamp.

The other temple (dedicated to Vishnu) is now called the Adikesava Perumal temple. The original temple seems to have consisted of a *garbhagriha* and an *ardhamandapa*. Another *mandapa* with a small shrine, a porch and the *dvajasthambha* are all later additions. There are niches on the outer walls of the *garbhagriha* and the closed *mandapa*. In this shrine, in addition to the inscriptions of Dantivarman and Nrpatunga, we have also inscriptions of Parantaka I and Rajaraja I.

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The pyramidal *vimana* here is more elongated and less massive than those of the other temples of this age at Kanchipuram. This may be considered a temple of the transition period from the Pallava to the Chola age.

Kalambakkam

Kalambakkam is in the Tiruttani Division of Chittor district. There are two temples in this village.

The earlier and more important temple is the Tirunagesvara temple. It has a Pallava inscription of the 8th year of Aparajitavarman, which makes provision for the worship of the deity called (in another inscription of the 16th year in which the king's name is not found, but may relate to Aparajita) the *Tali-Udaiyar* at *Kilambakkam* which according to the inscriptions is the old name of the village.

There is also an inscription of the 10th year of Parthivendravarman which mentions a *Salaippuram* (an endowment for a feeding house) in Takkolam.

Another inscription mentions the name of a local Pallava chief, called Vayirameghavarman in whose time a gift of sheep for a lamp in the temple of *Kalandai Nakkar* (perhaps the name of this temple) is made. Kalandai is perhaps the colloquial form of Kalambakkam.

This temple should be attributed to the 9th century A. D.*

Vaikunthavasapperumal

Tirumerrali Peruman (Devar)

Nemmali / [Nenmali]

Nemmeli (Nenmali) is in the Tiruttani division of the Chittor district 6 miles (4·7 km.) from Tiruttani. The old Vishnu temple, in this place, of Vaikunthavasapperumal, called *Tirumerralip Perumal* in the inscriptions, was a Pallava foundation. The oldest inscription on this temple is one of the 10th year of Aparajitavarman (A. D. 879-897). A gift of 1000 *kuli* of land in the village of Singapur is made for playing music during the *Sribali*

*See Nos. 173-178 of the Report on South Indian Epigraphy — 1943-44 and *Ancient India* n. 14 — The Pallava Architecture of South India.

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celebrations in four temples of this locality including this Vishnu temple.

There is a damaged record of the 8th year of Rajakesarivarman, which mentions a gift of a lamp to the Tirumerrali Perumal. This mentions a liquid measure in use called Rajakesari. If it does not relate to Aditya I, it can be assigned to Sundarachola.

There are two records of Parakesarivarman who took Madurai, Parantaka I of the 13th and 38th years; both relate to gift of lands for lamps, worship and offerings to the temple of Tirumerralip – Perumanadigal. A tank called *Putteri* is mentioned, and some lands below it are included in the gift.

An inscription of the 22nd year of the Rashtrakuta ruler Kannara deva (A. D. 961-2), mentions that the temple was renovated by a chief Kilakkayirru Tiruvadi and the temple is called *Kilakkayirru Tirumerrali* after him. Another of his 28th year makes provision for *Sribali* service in the temple by Attirayan Narayanan Vasudevan. This very person makes a gift of sheep for a lamp called *Tisai-Ayirattu-Ainnurruvar* in the 17th year of Rajakesarivarman, who should be identified with Sundara Chola. Evidently the donor of the lamp was a member of a great Tamil Merchant Guild called *Tisai Ayirattu Annurruvar* whose earliest reference is the Munisandai record of the age of Vijayalaya and Parantaka I (pls. 33-a, b, c) and whose oversea activities are recorded in a Tamil inscription at *Loboe Toewa* in Sumatra of A. D. 1088.*

In the days of Rajaraja I, Nenmali gets the surname of *Chalukya Kulakala Chaturvedimangalam.*

The temple has a few fine old metals, Vishnu, Bhudevi and Kalinga Nartana. The basement alone is original and on its southern side, there is an inscription of Aparajita. The superstructure has been renovated.

*(1) Vide K. A. N. Sastri's article — Tijdschrift — Batavia Vol. LXXII-1931-1932 and my article in Vol. LXXIV—1934 in the same journal on this Merchant Guild.

(2) Also Indian Epigraphical Report — Nos. 146 to 161 of 1942-43.

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9 Rajakesarivarman (Aditya I)

(A. D. 871 to 907)

Introduction

We have already seen that the Chola power spread over Tondaimandalam even during the period of Vijayalaya as far as Tiruvellarai, Virasolapuram, Kilputtur, Kilur (Tirukkovalur), Uttaramerur and Kanchi. Nrpatunga, Kampavarman and Aparajita the last of the Pallava rulers each in his time strove hard to stem the tide of advance of the Chola power into the Pallava territory.

But it was under Vijayalaya's, son Aditya I that the gradual consolidation of Chola rule over Tondaimandalam took place. At Tirumalpuram, there is an inscription of the 14th year of a certain Chola king with the title of Konerinmaikondan (who is identified with Uttama Chola) which mentions a gift of land in the 21st year of Tondaiman-Arrur-Tunjiya-Udaiyar who is no other than Aditya I (286 of 1906). Tondaiman-Arrur is modern Tondaimanad. His Takkolam inscription of the 24th year (5 of 1897) and the Tirukalukkunram inscription of the 27th year (167 of 1894 Epi. Ind. III p. 279) confirm the almost permanent absorption of Tondaimandalam into the Chola dominions, though the final overthrow of Pallava power was left to Parantaka I.

Aditya I is credited with the conquest of the Kongu country and the capture of Talakkad, the capital of the Western Gangas. He was the first to make the onward march into the Pandya country after crossing the traditional Chola-Pandya boundary line along the banks of the Southern Vellar. Aditya I's inscription at Kannanur is sufficient evidence of his southern expansion even before the days of Parantaka I. Kannanur about twelve miles from the Vellar river, marks the southern boundary of the Chola kingdom in his days. The conquest of the Pandya country

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was completed by Parantaka I who therefore assumed the the title of Madirai-kondan or Madurantakan.

The Anbil plates of Sundara Chola describe Aditya I as "the Indra among kings who had great glory and fortune" and as one "by whom the row of large temples of Siva, as it were banners of his own victories, lofty and unacquainted with defeat (collapse), was built of stone on the two banks of the river Kaveri from the Sahya mountains (the Western Ghats), inhabited by the lordly elephants whose cheeks dripped with their temple-juice, incessantly flowing even to the ocean, which has the moon playing on the folds of its big restless waves".

While editing the Anbil Plates, the late T. A. Gopinatha Rao remarked :—"As a matter of fact there are a number of temples dedicated to Siva and situated on the banks of the river Kaveri which might be assigned to the reign of Rajakesarivarman Aditya I and of which the construction continued even in the reign of his son Parantaka I. For instance, the stone temple at Andanallur was constructed by Pudi Parantakan *alias* Sembiyan Irukkuvel. Pudi Aditya Pidari, the daughter of Tennavan Ilangovel and wife of Arikulakesari, the son of the Chola king, built the stone temple dedicated to Siva in the village of Tiruchchendurai. The Panchanadisvara temple in, and the Pasupatisvara outside, the village of Allur, as also one known as the Sundaresvara temple at Nangavaram, appear to have come into existence also about the same time. Built during Aditya's time they were all endowed in the reign of his son and immediate successor, Parantaka I. Again, a number of older temples such as those at Tiruvadi (Tiruvaiyaru), Tillaistanam, etc., seem to have been renewed and rebuilt with stone in the reign of Aditya I. All these temples are on the banks of the Kaveri." These temples are discussed in their respective places and assigned to the proper period.

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in his masterly survey of the history of the Cholas admits that "it is not possible to point

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out with certainty to the temples erected by Aditya I."

During the classical period of the Devaram hymnists there were about 190 temples on both banks of the Kaveri of which 127 are said to lie on the southern bank; but we have no manner of knowing as to how many should be ascribed to the days of Aditya I.

It is against this background that we have to survey, examine and identify the temples which could be assigned to the age of Aditya I. In this survey I have, on the basis of the slender evidence available, assigned to his period more than forty temples.

TEMPLES OF ADITYA I's TIME

Inscriptional References

Tiruchi District

1. Kannanur (Pudukkottai)	: JOR, Madras, XI, Pt. IV
2. Tirukkattalai (Pudukkottai)	: JOR, Madras, X, pp. 231-9
3. Tiruchendurai	: 291-327 of 1903; 143-148 of 1938
4. Lalgudy	: 84-89 of 1892; 98-142 of 1928-29; 250 of 1930-31 (E.I. XX)
5. Srinivasanallur	: 586-610 of 1904
6. Alambakkam	: 704-733 of 1909
7. Kilaiyur 8. Melappaluvur	: 355-403 of 1924
9. Kilappaluvur	: 216-263 of 1925-26
10. Tiruverumbur	: 100-101 of 1892, and 96-142 of 1914
11. Tirupparaitturai	: 244-290 of 1903
12. Tiruppalturai	: 169-180 of 1907, and 562-586 of 1908

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13. Valikandapuram : 238-239 of 1943-44
14. Tirumalavadi : 70-99 of 1895, and 1-103 of 1920
15. Kumara Vayalur : 135-157 of 1936-37

Tanjavur District

16. Kumbakonam (Nagesvara) : 13-15 of 1908; 223-260 of 1911; 3 of 1915; and 290-302 of 1927
17. Sendalai : 56-68 of 1897; 6-14 of 1899; 197-215 of 1926 (SII, XIII, Nos. 187, 202, 251, 310 and 311)
18. Tirukkattuppalli : 52-57 of 1897
19. Nemam (Niyamam) : 16 of 1899 (see Sendalai Pillar Inscriptions)
20. Koyiladi : 270-281 of 1901 (SII, VII, 495-501)
21. Tirukkandiyur : 13-23 of 1895 (SII, V, 568-579)
22. Tiruvaiyaru : 213-256 of 1894; 135-157 of 1918; 426 of 1924
23. Tiruppalanam : 123-129 of 1895; 134-191 of 1928
24. Tiruvedikudi : 65-69 of 1895 (SII, V, 622-626)
25. Tiruchchorrutturai : 53-64 of 1895; 121-208 of 1931
26. Tillaisthanam : 24-52 of 1895; 276-291 of 1911 (SII, III, Plate VII, and E. I., IV, p. 293)
27. Tiruppunturutti : 166 of 1894, 75-120 of 1930-31
28. Tiruvilakkudi : 108-151 of 1926
29. Tiruvisalur : 1-52 of 1907, and 314-355 of 1907

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30. Tiruvidaimarudur : 130-159 of 1895; 193-313 of 1907 (SII, XIII, Nos. 7, 37, 38, 133, 195 and 270)

31. Tirunagesvaram : 81-84 of 1897; 211-222 of 1911; 65-73 of 1932; SII, II, p. 166; SII, III, p. 91; SII, VI, No. 31; and SII, XIII, No. 197

32. Tiruppanandal : 28 of 1908; 29-47 of 1914; 74-80 of 1932

33. Koyil Devarayanpettai : 228-282 of 1923; EI, XXXII, No. 22; SII, V, 879

34. Vedaranyam : 471, 477 and 487 of 1904

35. Tiruppurambiyam : 69-80 of 1897, 323-357 of 1927, 146-161 of 1932.

36. Nalur-Tirumayanam : 308-332 of 1910

37. Tiruvenkadu : 110-122 of 1896; 442-521 of 1918; SII, XIII, 144

38. Kuhur : 273-316 of 1917

South Arcot District

39. Tiruvakkarai : 166-208 of 1904; SII, XIII, Nos. 285 and 317

40. Kiliyanur : 148-160 of 1919

North Arcot District

41. Kaverippakkam : 381-415 of 1905; 56-57 of : 1934-35

42. Tirupparkkadal : 685-703 of 1904

43. Brahmadesam : 189-272 of 1915

44. Ukkal : 19-32 of 1893; 412 of 1902; and 156-170 of 1939-40

45. Takkolam : 1-19 of 1897 (5 of 1897 : 24th year), and 243-277 of 1921

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46. Tiruvallam : 75-82 of 1889; 1-18 of 1890; 190 of 1904; 298-304 of 1897; 149-150 of 1898; and 208-240 of 1921.

Chingleput District

47. Tirukkalukkunram : 65 of 1909 (Madras Epigraphical Report : 1932-33, p.55); and 167 of 1894 : EI, III, No. 38, p. 279 (27th year)—Journal of the Madras University, XIV, No. 1; and JOR, Madras, XIV, Pt. IV.

The Anbil Plates of Sundara Chola

Tirumalpuram Inscriptions : 286 1906 : of the 14th year of "Konerinmaikondan" (Uttama Chola)

"A Manual of the Pudukkottai State", 2 Volumes.

"Inscriptions of Pudukkottai State."

"Cave-temple of the Pallavas" by K. R. Srinivasan, Architectural Survey of Temples, No. 1, Archaeological Survey of India. "Early Chola Bronzes" by D. Barrett, Bhulabhai Memorial Institute, Bombay.

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10 Temples of Aditya's Time

Balasubrahmanya Temple

Kannanur

Kannanur Balasubrahmanya Temple is one of the most important among the early Chola temples of the days of Aditya Chola I.

Kannanur is a village in the Tirumeyyam taluk of Pudukkottai (Tiruchy district), 17 miles (27.36 km.) south-west of the town of Pudukkottai (Madras State). There are two temples close to each other on the eastern bund of the tank of the village. The one close to the bund is the Balasubrahmanya temple, and the other is dedicated to Vishnu described in one of the inscriptions as *Virudarajabhayankara Vinnagara Emperuman.*

The original temple of (Bala) Subrahmanya of the ninth century consisted only of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*, perhaps surrounded by a wall of enclosure, of which, however, only the basement and the pillars of the main gateways can be seen now.

It has a *mukhamandapa* different in style from that of the other parts of the temple. All the nine published inscriptions of this temple are found on the walls of the *mukhamandapa* only. All of them belong to Pandyan kings, and the earliest of them is one of the third year of Maravarman Sundara Pandya who ascended the throne of Madurai in A. D. 1216. We can therefore without hesitation assign the *mukhamandapa* to the 13th century.

On closer examination of the original monument, I was able to discover two unpublished inscriptions one on each side of the outer face of the gateway in front of the *ardhamandapa*. But the full text of the two inscriptions could not be secured as they have been built in during the later construction of the *mukhamandapa*. But the portion available

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for inspection is of invaluable importance to the historian and to the student of Chola Art. The first two lines of one of them give us an incomplete version of the name of the ruler which we can easily guess aright — "Kovi ..... Kesari (Koviraja-Kesari) panmar". The fifth line furnishes the first part of the name of the deity installed in this temple — " Subrahm " (= Subrahmanya). The second inscription furnishes the latter part of the name of the same deity — " *brahmanya-devar* " (= Subrahmanya devar). Thus the inscriptions reveal the name of the presiding deity " Subrahmanya devar " and the name of the ruler who was then in possession of this region — " *Kovirajakesari Panmar* ", in whose time a gift of a perpetual lamp (*Tirunanda-vilakku*) was made. Even these bits make valuable addition to our knowledge. Chola rulers assumed the titles of Parakesarivarman and Rajakesarivarman alternately. Parakesari Vijayalaya could not have extended his kingdom thus far up to the region where Kannanur is situated. His son was *Rajakesari Aditya I* (A. D. 871-907). And in most of his stone inscriptions he is styled only Rajakesarivarman. The script of the inscriptions is sufficiently archaic to be attributed to him. The presence of an inscription of Aditya I in this region about twelve miles south of the southern Vellar, which was the well-recognised traditional boundary between the Cholas and the Pandyas, discloses that the Chola expansion into the Pandya country had already started even during the reign of Aditya I and extended at least as far as this region. Moreover, Parantaka I, the son and successor of Aditya I, is generally credited with the conquest of Madurai, for which he assumed the title of *Madurai-konda* (or *Madurantaka*), the Conqueror of Madurai. It has to be presumed that Parantaka I merely completed the work already begun by his father and reaped the glory. We have to admit that the southern extent of Chola power was in the days of Aditya I as far at least as Kannanur.

The Kannanur Subrahmanya temple is a complete structural stone temple of the *svayampradhana* class

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with Subrahmanya as the main deity. The *garbhagriha* (sanctum) is a square, each side measuring twelve feet six inches (3.81 m.) externally. Its walls are thick and adorned with pilasters ornamented with elegant scroll-work. In front and in the same axis, there is the *ardha-mandapa* about eight feet (2.44 m.) square forming an integrated structure with the main shrine. The corbels have an angular profile. There is a frieze of *bhutaganas* (gnomes) below the thick cornice (*kodungai*) which is also decorated with *kudus* having beautiful scroll-work. Over the cornice we have a frieze of standing *yalis* (leogryphs). There are niches for deities (*deva-koshtas*) on the outer walls of the *garbhagriha*. Now there is only the image of Dakshinamurti in its southern niche.

This temple is single-storeyed (*eka-tala*). The *vimana* over the central shrine rests on a circular base. In the *griva* portion, there are four niches having scrolled *kudus* crowned with *simha* heads on the four cardinal points. Images are found only in two of them and they are so weather-beaten that they cannot be identified. At the four corners of the *griva*, there were four figures of elephants, the vehicle of Subrahmanya.

The *sikhara* is bell-shaped with a beautiful curvature, convex followed by concave surfaces. At the top there are two layers of *padma* and *ratna-pattikas*. It is crowned by an ornamented spherical stone *stupi* of exquisite work-manship (pls. 34-a, b and 35).

Generally, Subrahmanya has the banner of the cock (in some sculptures the cock is held in the hand) with the peacock as His vehicle standing behind. But the Sangam literature of the Tamils and some of the Agamas and Puranas mention also the elephant as His vehicle. This is one of the rare temples which has the elephant as Subrahmanya's vehicle. Figures of elephants also adorn the four corners of the *vimana*.

The present presiding deity is a new idol, but the original deity is found in the *mandapa*. It is a standing figure three

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feet six inches (1·07 m.) high, one foot six inches (0·46 m.) across the shoulders. It has four arms, with *sakti* and *akshamala* (garland of beads) in the upper hands. The lower right hand is in *abhaya* pose (offering protection) and the lower left hand rests on the hip. It has a cross-band across the chest and wears a *karanda-makuta* (three tiered tiara)*

Sundaresvarar Temple

Tirukkattalai

Tirukkattalai is now a small village four miles (6·44 km.) to the east of the town of Pudukkottai. Here is an interesting temple of the days of Aditya Chola I.

In its early inscriptions, the temple is called *Karkurichi Tirukkarrali*, the sacred stone-temple of Karkurichi. And the main deity of the temple now called Sundaresvarar was then known as the Perumanadigal of Karkurichik-Karrali. The modern name of Tirukkattalai can be traced in a Vijayanagar inscription of the 15th century in which the deity is called *Tirukkattalai Isvaram Udaiya Nayanar*. The name of Tirukkattalai seems to be a corruption of Tirukkarrali and the original name of the place seems to be Karkurichi.

The temple faces the east and there is a tank in front of it outside the wall of enclosure. Now, the temple is approached by a new gate in the south, made by an opening in the southern wall of enclosure.

This is a structural temple built of stone from the basement to the finial. It consists of a *garbhagriha*, an *ardhamandapa* and a separate shrine for the Goddess. There are seven sub-shrines — still intact — all round the central shrine and close to the wall of enclosure (*madil*). The walls of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* are thick and massive. These two parts are on the same axis and form an organic structure different in style from that of the *mukhamandapa*. But on the same considerations of style, both the *mukhamandapa* and the shrine of the Goddess seem

* See my article in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. XI, Part IV.

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to be of the same age, and later than the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*. The latest king mentioned in inscriptions of the original shrine is the Chola king Kulottunga I (A. D. 1070-1118) and the earliest in the *mukhamandapa* is the Chola King Kulottunga III (A. D. 1178-1216). Therefore we can infer that the *mukhamandapa* and the shrine of the Goddess should have been constructed during this interval of nearly a century.

The *garbhagriha* is a square. It is six feet (1·83 m.) square in the interior and twelve feet (3·66 m.) in the exterior. It has massive walls all round; the pilasters have fine scroll-work in the upper part of the shaft below the capital, and their corbels are plain and angular. There are niches (*devakoshtas*) between the central pilasters surmounted by a *yali frieze* and a *makara torana*. There are a standing Tripurantaka in the southern niche, Lingodbhava in the west and Brahma in the north. The cornice (*kodungai*) is adorned with *kudus* at the top of each pilaster, and these are decorated with fine scroll-work, with a human head in the centre. There is a *yali* frieze over the cornice.

Another storey (*tala*) rises over the *garbhagriha*. There are *panjaras* (miniature shrines), three in each row. At the ends they are cubical in shape, and have a four-sided curvilinear *sikhara* crowned by a *stupi*. In the centre, the *panjara* is rectangular and it has a wagon-roof crowned by two circular *stupis* and flanked by a gable adorned with *simha* heads. There are niches for idols (*devakoshtas*) in the centre of each of the rectangular *panjaras* (*salas*). The idols are Bhikshatanamurti in the south, Vishnu in the west and Brahma in the north. The whole of this storey rests on pillars over the walls of the *garbhagriha*. This storey is adorned with another cornice and it has two *kudus* on each side. Another *yali* frieze over this storey brings us to the *griva*.

The *griva* has pilasters at the ends and figure-niches in the centre surmounted by *simha* heads. They house a seated Dakshinamurti in the south, Varahamurti in the west,

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Brahma in the north and perhaps Indra in the east. There are four recumbent bulls (Siva's vehicle) at the four corners.

The *sikhara* is four-sided and curvilinear and is adorned with fine scroll-work at the ends. In harmony with the *sikhara*, the *stupi* also is four-sided, all made of stone.

As mentioned already, there are seven sub-shrines for the *parivaradevatas* — Surya, Saptamatrikas, Ganesa, Subrahmanya, Jyesthadevi, Chandra and Chandesvara. These are intact and in their positions and with deities. The shrine for the Saptamatrikas is rectangular in shape and has a wagon-roof. The Surya image is also peculiar. Its left hand rests on the hip and right hand is held in *abhaya* pose (offering protection). This is unlike other Surya figures which generally hold lotuses in their hands. The Erumbur inscription of the days of Parantaka Chola (A. D. 907-955) mentions eight *parivaradevatas;* and the evidence supplied by the Muchukundesvara temple (of about the same age) at Kodumbalur gives the clue to the eighth sub-shrine — that it is *Bhairava's*.

There are twelve inscriptions relating to this temple, of which one is mutilated, eight are Chola, one Pandya and two Vijayanagar. Among the earliest inscriptions, two on the south wall of the central shrine are of a certain Parakesarivarman, of the 2nd and 9th years. We are not in a position to decide to which early Chola king these should be assigned — Vijayalaya or Parantaka I or some other early Chola king. Parakesari Vijayalaya came to the throne about A. D. 850. If these records should relate to him, then they should be roughly equivalent to A. D. 852 and 859 respectively. But as his contemporary Pallava ruler Nrpatunga was in possession of the area round about Narttamalai (only about fourteen miles away), as revealed by an inscription of his seventh year (A. D. 862) at Narttamalai, it seems unlikely that the two Parakesarivarman records relate to Vijayalaya. Therefore, they have to be assigned to Parantaka I, about whom there are

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other inscriptions here which could be definitely assigned to him on the basis of his title of 'Conqueror of Madurai' (*Maduraikonda*) found in them. On the north wall of the central shrine, there is an inscription of the third year of a certain *Rajakesarivarman*, who can be identified with the son and successor of Vijayalaya and the father of Parantaka Chola, viz., Aditya Chola I. Hence the temple should have been in existence before A. D. 874. The stylistic features confirm the date of the temple, the latter part of the 9th century A. D. (pls. 36 to 39).

It may be of interest to mention that an inscription of this place, of the time of the Vijayanagar ruler Mallikarjuna (15th century), mentions that a land-grant to the temple was ordered to be engraved on the temple wall and that the stone record itself should be considered as a deed on copper plates.

The Tirukkattalai temple is important in many respects. It is a two-storeyed structural stone temple. It can be assigned to the period of Aditya I. There are niches (*devakoshtas*) in both the storeys and in the *griva*. The figure in the southern niche of the outer wall of the *garbhagriha* is peculiar. Usually, in all Siva temples of South India, this niche is occupied by Dakshinamurti. During an earlier visit, I identified the figure here as Vinadhara Dakshinamurti.* But a closer scrutiny indicates that the standing figure holds, not a *vina*, but a bow and arrow, and so is likely to be Tripurantaka. Anyhow, such a figure is an uncommon feature. The Bhikshatanamurti in the southern niche of the second storey is noteworthy. Such images of Siva find lodgement in the *gopurams* (main entrance pylons) in a later age. The existence in this temple of seven out of the eight *parivaradevatas* in their respective sub-shrines as a concomitant feature of early Chola Siva temples is a matter of great interest in the history of the evolution of Dravidian architecture.

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* Vide the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. X.

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Chandrasekhara Temple

Tiruchendurai – Karrali Perumanadigal

Tiruchendurai

The village Tiruchendurai, which is in Tiruchy district, lies on the southern bank of the river Kaveri, six miles five furlongs (10.66 km.) from Tiruchy, about 3 miles (4.83 km.) from the Elamanur railway station of the Southern Railway. It has an ancient Chola temple now called the Chandrasekhara temple.

The temple has inscriptions on its walls which cover almost the whole of the Chola period. Among the early inscriptions, there are four of a Rajakesarivarman, twenty-one inscriptions of Parakesarivarman without any distinguishing epithets, and three of Madirai-konda-Parakesari, i.e., Parantaka I.

The most important of the Parakesari inscriptions is one of his third year (316 of 1903). It refers to the construction with stone of this Siva temple at Tiruchendurai, described as being situated in the *brahmadeya* of Isana-mangalam, by one Pudi Adichcha Pidariyar, daughter of Tennavan Ilangovelar and the queen of Arikula-kesariyar, son of Koparakesaripanmar *alias* Solapperumanadigal. The relevant text reads as follows :—

" 1. *Svasti Sri Ko-Parakesari-panmarkku yandu* 3 *ava*
2. *du ivvandu Solapperumanadigal maganar Arikulakesa*
3. *riyar deviyar Tennavan-ilangovelar magalar Pudi Adichcha*
4. *Pidariyar piramadeyam Isana mangalattu tiru*
5. *chchendurai tam-eduppitta karrali perumanadigalukku sennadai*
6. *tiruvamudukku mudalaga kudutta videlvidugu kallal tulaippon a*
7. *rupadin kalanju* ..... "

This inscription makes provision for sacred offerings to the God from the interest on the endowment of 60 *kalanjus* of gold. Arikula-kesari was a son of Parantaka I

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who ascended the Chola throne after Gandaraditya, and he was the father of Sundara Chola and the grandfather of Rajaraja I, the Great. His queen was *Pudi Adichcha Pidariyar*. She is credited with the construction of this temple with stone (*karrali*). The editor of the South Indian Inscriptions (SII, III, p. 218) has held that this inscription has to be ascribed to Parantaka I and this temple was built of stone *in his days*. The following factors have to be considered before fixing the date of its construction. In the inscription of the *third* year of Parakesarivarman, the expression used is "*tam-eduppitta*" which is in the past tense — " (the temple) *built by us* " and so it may mean any time before that date. There are two earlier inscriptions of the 2nd year of Parakesarivarman (310 and 319 of 1906) which mention this temple as a *karrali* (stone temple). The gift is also by *Pudi Aditta Pidari*. The Government Epigraphist mentions that inscription No. 319 of 1903 has *pulli* marks throughout, a feature of its early age. Yet he assigns this to Uttama Chola or Aditya II. Pudi Aditta Pidari cannot be assigned to the days of both Parantaka I and Uttama Chola. Hence, this view is untenable. Moreover, there are four inscriptions of a *Rajakesarivarman*; and two of them with high regnal years — 20 and 23 — could be assigned only to Aditya I. Pudi Adichcha Pidariyar mentioned in the 3rd year of Parakesarivarman above referred to (316 of 1903) figures also in an inscription of the 23rd year of Rajakesarivarman (320 of 1903). She makes a gift of five *kalanjus* of gold and the *Parudaiyar* (the *Maha Sabha*) of Isanamangalam sold to this lady six *ma* of land as an endowment to support pipers (*Uvachchar*) to this temple. Hence, it seems to me that the stone temple might have come into existence in the latter part of the rule of Aditya I, some time before his 23rd regnal year.

The same Pudi Adichcha Pidari makes other gifts which range from the 2nd year of Parakesarivarman to at least his 14th year (295 of 1903). It has to be observed that

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almost all these Parakesari inscriptions have to be ascribed only to Parantaka I as in the case of his third year inscription. Further, one *Bharatayan Nakkan Kandan* of Isanamangalam who figures in the 28th year of Parakesarivarman (294 of 1903) is mentioned as donor in three inscriptions of Maduraikonda Parakesari, i. e. Parantaka I, of his 12th year (291 of 1903), his 16th year (300 of 1903) and his 20th year (298 of 1903). Hence it will be legitimate to infer that the inscription of the 28th year of Parakesarivarman should also be assigned to Parantaka I. It is rather curious that the distinguishing title of *Maduraikonda* is omitted in inscriptions of Parantaka I in this locality even as late as his 28th year. But this is not unusual as we have in *Kudimiyamalai* a Parakesari inscription of the 38th year which has to be assigned only to Parantaka I.

These three inscriptions of '*Madiraikonda Parakesari*' relate to gifts of lamps and for the supply of the Kaveri water for the sacred bath of the God.

Pulalaya Vinnagar

The Visvanatha shrine situated within the temple of Chandrasekhara has an inscription of the 20th year of Rajakesarivarman. It mentions that there was in the western part of the village a *Vishnu* temple called *Merrali* (the western temple). All Vishnu temples are located in the western part of a village and are called *Tirumerrali*. A merchant of Tanjavur called *Manikka Vaniyan Karunataka Pulalaya Chetti* rebuilt this temple with stone and bought from the Assembly of the village 100 *pattis* of land for the temple and its adjuncts and the temple was named after him *Pulalaya* (or *Pulaliya*) *Vinnagar* — (325 of 1903). Here is the text: "*Ivvurt-tirumerraliyana Sri Koyilai pulaliya vinnagaram ennum peral karrali eduppittu devaraip piradishtai seyvitta Pulalaya Chetti.*". This affords additional proof for assigning the temple of Chandrasekhara to the days of Aditya I.

The inscription with the high regnal year of the 20th

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year of Rajakesarivarman in a shrine within the temple of Tiruchendurai, the existence of an inscription of the 23rd year of Rajakesarivarman which mentions Nangai Pudi Adichcha Pidariyar (320 of 1903) who figures also almost continuously upto the 14th year of Parakesarivarman who has to be identified with Parantaka I, the mention of the existence of a *stone* temple (*karrali*) even in an inscription of the 2nd year of Parakesarivarman — earlier than his third year inscription (316 of 1903) which mentions clearly the construction of this temple with stone by the said Nangai Pudi Adichcha Pidariyar — all these point out clearly that this Siva temple should have been constructed of stone sometime *on or before the 23rd year of Aditya I*, not in the days of Parantaka I as the Government Epigraphist has held.

The Vishnu temple of Pulalaya Vinnagar should also have come into existence as a *stone* temple about the same period. This temple cannot be traced now.

The deity of the Siva temple is called in early inscriptions "Tiruchchendurai Karrali Paramesvarar or Perumanadigal" situated in the *brahmadeya* of Isanamagalam in Uraiyur Kurram.

This temple is built of stone. The *garbhagriha* is a square and measures 17 ft. 6 inches (5·33 m.) each side in the exterior and 7 ft. (2.13 m.) in the interior. The walls are five feet (1.52 m.) thick.

The *ardhamandapa* runs 17 ft. 6 inches (5.33 m.) in front. This is supported in the interior by four pillars in the centre and two pilasters on each side. The corbel and the capital of the pillars are of fine workmanship.

The *adhishthana* (the moulded basement) has *padmam* and *kumudam* mouldings with a *yali* frieze above them. There is a *bhutangana* frieze below the cornice and a *yali* frieze above it. Circles adorn the edges of the cornice.

It has two *talas* (storeys). There are *pancharas* with a barrel roof in the centre (*sala*) and cubical ones with four-sided curvilinear *sikharas* (*kuta*) on the edges.

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The *griva* is four-sided and the *sikhara* is square and curvilinear. The niches on the walls of the *garbhagriha* contain Rishabhavahanar in the south replaced in its front by a modern Dakshinamurti, Vishnu in the west and Brahma in the north (pls. 40-a, b, 41-a, b).

Saptarishisvarar Temple

(Tiru-Tavatturai-Isvara Bhattaraka)

Lalgudy

Lalgudy is 13 miles (20.92 km) north-east of Tiruchy on the road to Ariyalur. The name Lalgudy means the 'Red Village'. This is the name given by the Muslims on account of the red colour of the tower of the Siva temple. Its ancient name was Tiruttavatturai, 'the holy place of penance'. The seven rishis, Atri, Bhrugu, Pulastya, Vasishtha, Gautama, Angirasa, and Marichi, who were cursed by Skanda, got their salvation by doing penance here and by worshipping the Lord of the place. Hence the name of the deity is Saptarishisvara. Lakshmi is said to have worshipped Siva here to get herself married to Vishnu. Kali in the name of Bhairavi contested with Siva in the dance here and was humbled. Vishnu prayed to Siva and got his weapon of *Chakra* here. By his fervent devotion to this God, a Malava king got his leprosy cured and he brought in a number of learned Brahmans and settled them here for the recitation of the Vedas in the temple. This place was the centre of the virile Malanadu community.

Here, there are Pallava inscriptions of Nandivarman III (5th year, A. D. 840) and his son Nrpatunga (2nd year = A.D. 857) and a Pandyan inscription of Maran Sadaiyan *alias* Varaguna Maharaja (4 + 9 = 13th year — A. D. 875).

The present structure of the temple belongs to the early Chola age and these old inscriptions should have been re-engraved on the walls of the newly-built temple. We are not sure if any of the Parakesari inscriptions could be attributed to Vijayalaya; but among the Rajakesari inscriptions, one of his 27th year (A.D. 898 — 125 of 1929)

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could be definitely assigned to Aditya I on account of both the archaic character of its script and the high regnal year. The present temple structure should have been built sometime before A.D. 898.

Two inscriptions of Parakesarivarman — unidentified– (5th year — 117 of 1928-29 and 111 of 1928-29) — may be assigned to Parantaka I. The first concerns a gift of gold by *Adigal Paluvettaraiyan Kumaran Maravan*. This chief figures as a donor in the Tiru Kandarpa (Gandharva) Isvaram at Kilaiyur in the 22nd year of Rajakesarivarman (360 of 1924). The second records a gift of gold for a lamp by *Kokkilanadigal*, the queen of Parantaka I and the mother of Rajaditya.

And with the distinguishing title of Madirai-konda, his inscriptions range from his 20th to his 40th years. One of his 31st year relates to a gift of land by purchase from the *Sabha* of Nitya-Vinita Mangalam by a member of the Nitta Vira Sola Anukkar of *Arinjigai Isvaram* at *Parantakapuram* in Idaiyarrunadu for a lamp to Tiruttavatturai Isvara Bhattarakar. Another of his 37th year concerns a gift of land by purchase by Sivagochari Pidaran Desavitankan to two Brahmans for chanting the *Tiruppadiyam* hymns thrice daily in the temple. And the same donor, having found the provision already made insufficient, made a further gift of land in the 3rd year of Rajakesari who may be identified with Gandaraditya.

An inscription of the 13th year of Rajakesarivarman (250 of 1930-31) relates to a gift of land by the King's sister *Nangai Varaguna Perumanar* for a lamp to the temple of Perumanadigal of Tiruttavatturai. This inscription may be assigned to Sundara Chola. And an inscription from Tillaisthanam mentions that she was the wife of *Parantaka-Ilangovelar* who may be identified with Vikrama Kesari of Kodumbalur (287 of 1911, No. 233 of S II., XIII), a chief subordinate to Sundara Chola.

There is an inscription of the 16th year of Uttama Chola which mentions a gift to the temple of *Nagara-Tiru-Mala-*

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vanur Bhattarakar at Nagarvalkkai in Vadagarai Malanadu.

An inscription of the 33rd year of Rajadhiraja I makes provision for offerings to the Goddess Umaparamesvari in the temple of Tiruttavatturai.

The temple faces the west. The *garbhagriha* is 16 feet 4 inches (4.98 m.) square. The *ardhamandapa* projects in front 12 feet 10 inches (3·91 m.), with an *antarala* in between. The *mukhamandapa* further up measures 36 feet by 32 feet (10.97 m. by 9.75 m.).

It is an *eka-tala* structure with a bulbous *sikhara*. The *adhishthanam* has various kinds of mouldings — *upanam*, *padmam*, *kumudam*, *kantam*, *kapotam* and *varimanam* having *yalis* and elephants with riders.

The central *devakoshta* on the outer wall of the *garbhagriha* is supported by two small pilasters close to the niche flanked by two taller ones. There are also two tall pilasters at the end of each of the three walls of the *garbhagriha*.

Above the *bhutagana* frieze, there is the cornice adorned with *kudus* without any figures in the centre, and rosettes at the edges. The figures of the *devakoshtas* are Bhikshatana in the north, Ardhanari in the east and Vinadhara Dakshinamurti in the south. (pl. 42)

There are niche-figures in the *griva* as well — they are Brahma in the north, Alinganamurti of Siva in the east, and Dakshinamurti in the south.

The *ardhamandapa* is supported by four pillars, adorned with *kumbam*, *idal* and *palagai*. The corbels have roll-ornament with a central band. There are two *dvarapalas* at the entrance to the *ardhamandapa*.

The *mukhamandapa* (11th century ?) also stands on four pillars in the centre, and there are two *dvarapalas* outside this *mandapa* as well.

We find here a figure of Chamunda, one of the original set of the Saptamatrikas, and a superb Durga of the early Chola period.

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Srinivasanallur

Srinivasanallur is about 6 miles (9·66 km.) from Musiri and 29 miles (46·67 km.) from Tiruchy town. Here, there were five temples belonging to the early Chola period- the Koranganatha temple, the Visvanatha temple (within which is situated the Pattabhiraman shrine), the Lakshmi Narayana Perumal temple, the Ramanathasvamin temple and the Mariyamman temple.

On the south wall of the Pattabhiraman shrine inside the Visvanathasvamin temple, which lies on the left side of the road (on the south side) from Tiruchy, there is an inscription of the 7th year of a *Rajakesarivarman* who cannot be identified, and it records a gift of land by the local *Sabha* to provide sandal paste to the Durga Bhattariar of the *mulasthana*. Perhaps this inscribed slab belongs to a Durga temple. On the south wall of the *Mariyamman* temple, there is an inscription of the 6th year of Parakesari— unidentified — and it relates to a gift of gold. There is an inscription of *Madirai-Konda Parakesari* (Parantaka I) on the east wall of the Ganesa shrine in the Ramasvamin temple. But, the most important of all the temples in this place is the Koranganatha temple.

There is a popular story, which is accepted and repeated by scholars, that the temple was built by a *Sanyasin*; and before the shrine was consecrated, he found a monkey on top of it. This being considered a bad omen, it was deserted. But the inscriptions on the walls of this temple which range nearly over 200 years from the days of Aditya I to those of Kulottunga I (21st year = A. D. 1091) attest to the continuity of the worship of this deity and the endowments made to it during this long period. Hence the story is unworthy of credence. The desecration if any and the neglect should be due to other causes and should have been at a later stage, about the 12th century.

According to the local inscriptions, the deity enshrined in this temple is called *Tiruk-Kurakkutturai-Perumanadigal* situat-

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ed in the *brahmadeya* village of Mahendramangalam. Srinivasanallur should have been included in the Pallava kingdom during the reign of Mahendravarman I, and it seems to have been in the past called Mahendramangalam evidently after this Pallava ruler of the 7th century who is said to have seized "the country of the Cholas, embellished by *the daughter of Kavera* (river Kaveri) whose ornaments are the forests of paddy fields, and where are found brilliant groves of areca". Close to this village, there is even now a hamlet called Mahendramangalam.

There are four inscriptions of Rajakesarivarman, without details of identification; one of them may be assigned to Gandaraditya (586 of 1904). But one of his 24th year (592 of 1904) engraved on the base of the south wall of the *ardhamandapa* of the temple can be assigned to Aditya I on account of the high regnal year of the inscription. It may also be mentioned that the *ardhamandapa* is an integral part of the original temple and that on the same base we have two inscriptions of Parantaka I (591 and 593 of 1904), one above the Rajakesari inscription and another by its side. Therefore it seems legitimate to infer that the temple was in existence earlier than A.D. 895; and should be considered a temple of the days of Aditya I — not of Parantaka I as generally held. Such historical errors die hard (592 of 1904 and No. 306 of S.I.I., XIII.).

There are four inscriptions of Parantaka I ranging from his 20th to his 37th years. The earliest of them is one of the 20th year of this king, in the body of which a record of his 19th year is quoted. This was till now considered the oldest inscription in this temple. It records a sale of land. The other inscriptions of Parantaka I register a sale of land to the temple, the gift of a flower garden by a Brahman lady, gold for a lamp, a water-pot of copper, a lamp stand and a silver tray to the God.

The inscription of the 14th year of Parakesari may be assigned to Parantaka I or Uttama Chola.

An inscription of the 2nd year of Rajakesarivarman,

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which may be assigned to Rajaraja I, registers the tax-free lands belonging to the temple and allots their income for various requirements of the temple, at the instance of Araiyan Acharakanta Brahmadhirajan. The *mulaparishad* of *Mahendramangalam* (Srinivasanallur) appointed a committee (*variyam*) for this purpose. And with the help of the Committee and the Accountant (*kanakkan*), they arranged the following services :—food-offerings (*tiru-amudu*), ghee, the maintenance of the priest who offers worship (*aradanai*) and his two assistants; 18 lamps, *Sri-bali* service requirements including oil, lamp-bearers, and *seven* musicians during the service (three for *mattali*, one for *karadigai*, one for *talam*, one for *padagam* and one for *segandigai*).

This is a *dvitala* (two-storeyed) temple. The *garbhagriha* is square 26 ft. 8 inches (8·13 m.) side outside and 8 ft. (2·44 m) square inside. There is an *antarala* projecting 4 feet 4 inches (1·32 m.) followed by the *ardhamandapa*.

The plinth 5 ft. 2 in. (1·57 m.) high has plain and *kumudam* mouldings surmounted by a *yali* frieze. The *ardhamandapa* is a square measuring 22 feet (6·71 m) side and is 16 ft. (4·88 m.) high, and the central shrine with the *vimana* is 50 ft. (15·24 m.) high, from the ground level. The *vimana* is now of brick and plaster. Most of the early Chola temples were structural stone temples. We wonder if this is an exception, as at present only the portion of the *garbhagriha* up to the cornice is of stone, or a later renovation after a probable collapse of the original stone structure. There is no *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice.

On the outer walls of the *garbhagriha*, there are three main projecting niches (*devakoshtas*) : Brahma is in the north niche; Dakshinamurti in the south; and the western is now empty. Sculptures of *chauri*-bearers and Gods or *Apsaras* of exquisite workmanship are found installed in the recesses on each side of the *devakoshtas*. The *toranas* over the niches have wonderful decorative designs. The *torana* of the western niche has a figure of Nrsimha

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and there should have been some form of Vishnu in the western niche. There are two empty niches in front of the *ardhamandapa* where *dvarapalas* should have been housed. Also the two niches on the outer wall of the *antarala* now empty should have housed Ganapati and Durga.

The *ardhamandapa* is supported by four pillars in the centre, and by two more pillars close to the *antarala*. They are 9 ft. 6 inches (2·80 m.) high and have cushion capitals and thick *palagai*.

The *griva* is square and the *sikhara* four-sided and curvilinear.

The *garbhagriha*, the *antarala* and the *ardhamandapa* are original and integral, and the oldest inscription of Rajakesarivarman (alias Aditya I) is found on the base of the south wall of the *ardha mandapa* (No. 592 of 1904 and SII., XIII, No. 306) (Pls. 44 to 48).

ALAMBAKKAM TEMPLES

Alambakkam

Alambakkam comes into importance during the late Pallava and early Chola periods. It occupies a strategic position between Gandaradittam and Tirumalavadi on the Coleroon (Kollidam) on one side, Kilappaluvur on the east and Lalgudy on the west. It is about six miles (9·66 km.) on the road from Pullambadi (on the Lalgudy-Ariyalur road) to Tirumalavadi.

Alambakkam has temples of various religious sects and beliefs—*village-gods* like Selliyamman and Ayyanar, *Vishnu* Varadaraja Perumal and *Siva* Kailasanatha. The town and a few temples seem to have been founded in the days of the Pallava King Dantivarman (A. D. 785-836), and Alambakkam was known as Dantivarma-mangalam in the earliest records of this place.

Selliyamman Temple

The *Selliyamman* temple is a temple of Pidari, or Kala-Pidari as it is popularly called. It is really a temple of the Saptamatrikas. An inscription on the walls

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of this temple states that it was built by Irayar Alankara-priyan *alias* Tiru-Orriyuran, who also made a gift of land for offerings. This seems to be the *earliest independent* Sapta-matrika shrine known to South Indian Epigraphy, and it is still intact, enjoying the benefit of worship. There is an inscription of the 25th year of Rajakesarivarman (much damaged — 705 of 1909 and SII. XIII, No. 314), and it records a gift of land to the temple of the Saptamatrikas by the Assembly of Dantivarmamangalam (Alambakkam). This inscription should be ascribed to Aditya I (A. D. 896). Another gift of land to this temple of the Saptamatrikas is recorded in an inscription of the 31st year of Rajadhiraja I, in which the name of the village Dantivarmamangalam becomes changed into Madurantaka Chaturvedimangalam. The old temple and the images of the Saptamatrikas originally consecrated are still found here.

Ayyanar Temple

The temple for Ayyanar should have existed here from early times. The idol of Ayyanar is now found lying loose in a small stone temple, on the walls of which are found two inscriptions of the 8th and 9th years of Rajaraja I. One of them, of the eighth year, mentions the gift of a lamp to *Sri Krishna Perumal at Tiruvoyppadi* by a resident of Dantivarmamangalam (708 of 1909). Tiruvoyppadi seems to be an old hamlet of Alambakkam; and the present structure, in which the idol of Ayyanar is attempted to be installed, is perhaps the temple of Sri Krishna Perumal, and this small temple lies close to the other grander temple of Vishnu known as the temple of Varadaraja Perumal.

Varadaraja-Perumal Temple

In this Vishnu temple, there are two inscriptions, one of the 11th year of Parakesarivarman and the other of the 12th year of Rajakesarivarman, who cannot be identified. The first refers to a gift of land situated below the tank called *Marpidugu eri*, evidently after the surname of Pallava

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Dantivarman, for a lamp to the temple of *Tiru-merrali Perumal* by a member who managed the affairs of the village (*alunganam*). *Marpidugu eri* of Dantivarmamangalam is also mentioned in the inscription of the 12th year of Rajakesarivarman (712 of 1909 and no. 222 of SII. XIII—Re. Marpidugu vide *Tiruvellarai*). That this Vishnu temple was in existence in the days of Parantaka I is attested by an inscription of his 38th year on the north wall of this temple. It also refers to a gift of land below the tank of Marpidugu to the temple of Tirumerrali Perumal at Dantivarmamangalam, a *brahmadeya* on the northern bank of the Kaveri (the Coleroon or Kollidam).

There is an inscription in Tamil verse and prose not dated in any regnal year of a king, in which the old *Marpidugu eri* is found renamed *Madurantaka pereri*—after Parantaka I. It records that a certain Vittappa Dandanayakan, son of a general of *Narasimhadeva* and a native of Madurantakam in Tondainadu, *renewed* the *Tiru-merk-koyil* which had been "a long time back" founded to the west of the Siva Kailasam Udaiyar temple and had since become dilapidated. How far the present structure retains the main features of the original temple we are unable to say, and, without further particulars, the renovator of the temple cannot be identified.

The Vishnu temple faces the *east;* it is two-storeyed. The sitting image of Vishnu and His two consorts in the cell of the first floor are not perhaps of the age of Parantaka I. The *garbhagriha* at the ground level measures 35 feet (10·67 m) north to south and 35 feet (10·67 m) east to west. The *ardhamandapa* extends further 25 feet (7·62 m) in front. There is a further projection of 16 feet (4·88 m) beyond the *ardhamandapa* which provides a flight of steps leading up to the sanctum on the first floor.

The existence of the inscription of Parantaka I (38th year) and the presence of the original figures of Surya and Vishnu in the niches on the walls of the *garbhagriha* — these alone guarantee the antiquity of this monument.

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Kailasanatha temple

This Siva temple now called Kailasanatha was named in the past, according to the earliest inscriptions, *Amaresvara Perumal* temple. This lies on the east side of the road to Tirumalavadi, and the Saptamatrika temple already mentioned is close to it. This is likely to have been a foundation of Dantivarman rebuilt in the days of the early Cholas. The two oldest Chola records on this temple are those of the 3rd and 5th year of Parakesarivarman who may be identified with Parantaka I (720 and 715 of 1909). The first refers to a gift of land to the temple of *Amaresvara Perumal* at Dantivarmamangalam (= Alambakkam) by the *sabha* of the village, and the second also relates to a gift of land for a lamp to Amaresvara.

The temple has also inscriptions of the later Cholas. In an inscription of Rajendra I (719 of 1909), the present name of the deity, Kailasamudaiya Mahadevar, finds mention and the temple is said to be in Madurantaka Chaturvedimangalam, named after Parantaka I, instead of in Dantivarmamangalam. In inscriptions of Rajadhiraja I, Madurantaka Chaturvedimangalam is said to be a *brahmadeya* in Poygai-nadu in Rajendra Singa Valanadu.

This Siva temple faces the *south*. The *garbhagriha* is a square 18 feet 10 inches (5·74 m.) side. The *adhishtana* has plain mouldings. The niches on the outer walls of the *garbhagriha* are adorned with two pilasters, and there are two pillars at the ends of each side The niche-figures are Brahma in the north and Vishnu in the west. The other niche is empty. Below the cornice, there is a *bhutagana* frieze (pl. 49-a, b).

The *ardhamandapa* projects forward 16 feet (4·88 m.). There are two *dvarapalas* at the entrance to the *ardhamandapa* and two female figures grace the base of the jambs of the entrance. *The ardhamandapa* is supported by six pillars (of which only two are old) and six old pilasters on the side walls.

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Avani–Kandarpa Isvaragriham

(Agastyesvaram and Cholisvaram)

Kilaiyur

Kilaiyur and Melappaluvur are close to eacho ther, separated by less than a mile (1·61 km.), and the two together were known in the past as *Mannu Perumpaluvur or Perumpaluvur* as contrasted with Kilappaluvur or *Sirupaluvur*. It lies almost midway between Tiruchy town and Ariyalur, about 30 miles (48·28 km.) from Tiruchy town.

This temple with two shrines side by side is called the Avani-Kandarpa Isvaragriham, and also bears the alternate name Avani *Gandharva* Isvaragriham, found mentioned in a few inscriptions. The two shrines face the west and the *southern* shrine is now called Agastyesvaram, but in some of the inscriptions it is called the shrine of *Ten Vayil Sri Koyil Mahadeva* (the southern shrine of Mahadeva); and the northern shrine now called Arunachalesvaram or Cholisvaram was known in the past as *Vada Vayil Sri Koyil* (the northern shrine).

Agastyesvaram

On the southern wall of this shrine, there is an inscription of the 22nd year of a Rajakesarivarman (360 of 1924). In the period before the days of Rajaraja I, there is no Rajakesarivarman but Aditya I with such a high regnal year. Further, consonants in it bear *pulli* marks. So this inscription has to be ascribed to Aditya I. This refers to a chief called *Paluvettaraiyan Kumaran Maravan* at whose instance was reclaimed by Vettakkudan Vadugan Madavan of Poygaik-kuruvidam eight *ma* of land in the *devadana* village of Uragankudi and made a gift of for a perpetual lamp *to each of the shrines* in the temple of Avani-Kandarpa Isvaragriham.*

K. A. N. Sastri has done less than justice to the great monuments in this centre. He writes :—"Another fine

* Mr. G. V. S. Rao, the editor of the " South Indian Inscriptions " Vol. XIII, has without justification assigned this inscription to Rajaraja I (S. I. I. XIII — No. 298).

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stone temple of *Agastyesvaram* (pl. IV. Fig. 8) was built in the same place in *Aditya's reign*, and this temple well preserved to this day conserves the most notable features of the transition from Pallava to Chola architecture, such as pillars with squatting lions forming their lower half and marked by large thick *palagais* over the capitals. (pl. V. Fig. 9)". Agastyesvaram—the *southern shrine*—has a *square sikhara*, but the shrine illustrated in Fig. 8 of Plate IV is the *northern shrine* with a *bulbous sikhara*. It is a pity that he has missed the existence here of these two shrines side by side and has made a wrong identification. Nor has Srinivasan, who has added the descriptive notes, rectified this mistake (*The Colas*, 2nd Edition p. 697; Notes of Srinivasan on page 750, under Fig. 8; and plate IV, Fig. 8 under illustrations).

There is an earlier inscription of the 13th year of Rajakesarivarman (357 of 1924), which may also be assigned to Aditya I. This refers to a gift of eight *ma* of land, newly brought under cultivation, for burning one perpetual lamp in *each of the two shrines*, in the temple of Avani-Kandarpa Isvaram in Kunrak-kurram under the orders of Nakkan Bhuti *Paluvettaraiyan Kumaran Kandan*. If so assigned, this would be the earliest inscription relating to this temple. The existence of *both* the shrines of the temple of Avani Kandarpa Isvaram about A. D. 884 is thus well attested (pls. 50 to 52).

Paluvettaraiyan *Kumaran Kandan* of this inscription and Paluvettaraiyan *Kumaran Maravan* of that of the 22nd year of Rajakesarivarman were perhaps brothers.

The Agastyesvaram shrine built entirely of stone (*karrali*) is the bigger of the two shrines called together the Avani Kandarpa or Gandharva Isvaram. The southern is the main shrine, as the *mandapa* in front, the Nandi and the *gopura* are in the same axis.

The *garbhagriha* is a square 19 feet (5·79 m.) side. The *ardhamandapa* projects forward 10 feet 9 inches (3·28 m.). This is supported by four cushion-capital pillars and four

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pilasters, two on each side.

There is an *antarala* (vestibule) of about 6 feet 9 inches (2·06 m) between the *ardhamandapa* and the *mukhamandapa*. (In later times, gateways on the north and south sides were provided). The latter measures 32 feet 5 inches (9·88 m.) from north to south and 25 feet 9 inches east to west (7·85 m.) and is supported by four round pillars in the centre and four rows of lion-pillars.

The pillars of the *mandapa* in front of this shrine, according to inscriptions engraved on them, are said to be the gift of Kaliyuga Nirmulan, Ganga Marttandan, Maravan Manadhanan and Araiyagal Araiyuli.

The *devakoshtas* of the *garbhagriha* are adorned with *makara-toranas*. The southern niche has a standing figure of Siva Who holds *parasu* and *mrga* in His hands. In the centre of the *torana*, there is a dancing figure of Siva in the southern, and of Gajasamharamurti in the northern, niche. There are Brahma in the northern niche and a standing figure of Subrahmanya in the eastern niche. (The temple faces west).

There are sub-shrines of the *parivara-devatas*, Surya in the east, Ganapati in the south-west, Subrahmanya in the west, Chandesvara in the north and Saptamatrikas in the south. All these sub-shrines have their original idols, and their *vimanas* are also intact.

The shrine has two *talas*. The upper *tala*, above the *garbhagriha*, has a rectangular wagon-roofed *panchara* (called *sala*) in the centre flanked by cubical *pancharas* with curvilinear *sikharas* (*kuta*) at the ends. There are fine sculptures in the niches of the upper *tala* and the *griva*.

Below the cornice, we have *bhutaganas*, some of them playing musical instruments. The *kudus* which adorn the cornice have *hamsa* figures.

The *griva* and the *sikhara* are square and curvilinear and have niches surmounted by lion-heads. The *sikhara* is adorned with fine scroll-work at its four corners (*kodikkarukku*). The *padma* and *ratna* layers over the *sikhara*

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are surmounted by a four-sided stone-*stupi*.

The temple has a compound wall enclosing the two shrines and the sub-shrines. On the west side, in front of the southern shrine, there is a *gopuram* with a gateway, whose jambs and lintel are decorated with scroll-work. There is a *bhutagana* frieze above the gateway proper. The gateway is of stone and the superstructure is of brick. The western face of the gateway is guarded by two *dvara-palas* who could be assigned to the ninth century. This *gopuram* seems to be an integral part of the old Chola temple and it is one of the best preserved, in spite of our general apathy, among the temples of prior to the days of Rajaraja I.

Arunachalesvaram (*Cholisvaram, Vada Vayil Srikoyil*)

The northern shrine in this temple is now called Aruna-chalesvaram or Cholisvaram, but according to the inscriptions *Vada Vayil Srikoyil* (the sacred northern shrine).

The existence of this shrine in the days of Aditya I has already been discussed above.

The *garbhagriha* is 12 feet 4 inches (3·76 m.) square, and there is an *ardhamandapa* projecting westwards by 12 feet 4 inches (3·76 m). There are two *dvarapalas* in front of the *ardhamandapa*.

In the *devakoshtas* of the *garbhagriha*, there are Brahma in the north, Dakshinamurti in the south and Subrahmanya (seated) in the east. The *devakoshta* is flanked by two pilasters, and there are two more at the ends of each side. Images of Subrahmanya are found also in the upper niches of the *vimana*.

It is a *dvi-tala* structure and has a bulbous *sikhara* and a *stupi* of excellent workmanship.

In the second *tala*, there is a *panchara* with a wagon roof at the centre (*sala*) and two *pancharas* cubical at the ends (*kuta*). There is a figure of Dakshinamurti in the middle of the central *panchara* (*sala*) on the south side.

There is another *yali* frieze above this *tala*. In the *griva* portion, there are niches surmounted by *simha*-heads and

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they contain sculptures of excellent workmanship.

The *vimanas* of the two shrines at Kilaiyur are of the finest quality, and the existence of both types of *sikharas*, square and curvilinear and bulbous, of wonderful charm, and that too side by side in the same temple is of uncommon interest and adds greatly to the value of these fine gems of art and architecture among the monuments of the Early Cholas (pls. 50-62).

This temple is almost the best of the fully-developed and well-preserved of the early Chola temples with all its units intact.*

Sundaresvara Temple

(Pagaividai - Isvaram)

Melappaluvur

Melappaluvur was formerly a part of *Mannu Perum Paluvu.* including modern Kilaiyur; and the present deity of the temple of Sundaresvara was, according to an inscription of the 5th year of a certain Parakesarivarman (unidentified), known as Pagaividai Isvara-grihattu Mahadeva at *Mannu Perumpaluvur*.

In another inscription of the 10th year of Parakesarivarman, who may be identified with Uttama Chola, the deity is called *Paluvur Nakkar*. An inscription of Rajaraja I states that the Mahadeva of Pagaividai – Isvaram at Paluvur was known also as Paluvur Nakkar. The same deity is called Tiruttorram Udaiya Mahadevar in inscriptions of Rajaraja I and Kulottunga I. This name Tiruttorram Udaiyar is the Tamil equivalent of the modern (Sanskrit) name Sundaresvara. The Lord of this temple is believed to be the deity worshipped by *Jamadagni*, the father of Parasurama of Puranic and epic fame. There is a stone sculpture of Jamadagni in this temple. Parasurama is connected in legend with Kilappaluvur.

On the base of the west wall of the shrine of the Goddess,

* For fuller particulars see my book, " Four Chola Temples " published by the Bhulabhai Memorial Institute, Bombay.

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there is an inscription of the 16th year of Parakesari Uttama Chola. From it we learn that one Paluvettaraiyan Kandan Maravan made a gift of a perpetual lamp to this temple (395 of 1924). The same donor figures in an inscription of the fourth year (204th day) of a Rajakesarivarman who can be identified with Rajaraja I. This mentions that the temple of Tiruttorram Udaiyar was built by Paluvettaraiyan Kandan Maravan.

There are six inscriptions of Kulottunga I (acc. A.D. 1070). One of them states that the temple of Tiruttorram Udaiya Mahadeva which had been built of brick and which lay in a neglected condition without worship was rebuilt of stone by Ilangesan under the name of *Kulottunga Chola Isvaram* for the welfare of the king. According to another inscription of the same ruler, the chief's full name is given as Vanakovaraiyan Uttama Cholan alias Ilangesan (392 of 1924).

A third inscription of his 32nd year (310th day) mentions his grant of a village called Tillaikkudi alias *Kulottunga Sola Nallur* as a *devadana* to this temple of (Tiruttorram alias) *Kulottunga Sola Isvaram Udaiya Mahadeva* built at Periyapaluvur in Uttunga Valanadu. As this temple was rebuilt in the days of Kulottunga I, it is no wonder that the present structure of the Sundaresvara temple at Melappaluvur does not retain the old features of Early Chola temples.

The *sikhara* is new and four-sided. The *garbhagriha* is 31 feet (9·45 m.) square and its basement is plain, and it is bereft of *pancharas* over the sanctum. There are sub-shrines with the original sculptures of Ganesa, Subrahmanya (with *cock* in the upper left hand and *sakti* in the left), Chandesvara and the Saptamatrikas, sure features of its early age.

There is an old *gopuram* (looks original), with *dvarapalas* on either side which seem to be of about the ninth century A.D. It seems to be of the same age as that of Avani-Kandarpa Isvaragriham at Kilaiyur or a little later (pls. 63 to 65).

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This is another temple with the original early Chola *gopuram* and a few sub-shrines (pls. 63-65).*

Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar

(*Vata-mulesvarar*)

Kilappaluvur

Kilappaluvur lies about 33 miles (53.11 km.) from Tiruchy town on the road to Ariyalur, three miles (4.83 km.) east of Kilaiyur and 24 miles (38.62 km.) from Jayangondan. There are three temples, two of Siva and one of Vishnu. The two Siva temples are of the early Chola age.

The temple of *Vata-mulesvarar* or *Tiru Alandurai Mahadevar* is the most ancient and important of all these three temples. Local legends have it that there was in this place a forest of *banyan* trees (*Vata* or *Al*) and a *Svayambhu linga* (self-created or evolved, not made by man) under the shade of a banyan tree. In implicit obedience to his father's commands, Parasurama cut off his mother's head, and by way of expiation of this sin, he cleared the forest, worshipped the Siva *linga* under the banyan tree and gained his salvation.

Saint Sambandar, one of the 63 *Nayanmars* of the Tamil land, was a contemporary of the Pallava king Mahendravarman I, 7th century A.D.; and the existence of this temple in his days is proved by his having sung a decad of verses in honour of this Lord. He mentions in his songs that the worship of the Siva *linga* in this place was in his days in the hands of Malayalee Brahman priests—"*Andanarkalana Malayalaravar ettum*" : praised (and worshipped) by the Malayalee Brahman priests. How this came about we do not know. It may be of interest to mention that the region round about this place was ruled by a line of local chiefs called Paluvettaraiyars. Perhaps they were *Velir* (?) chiefs who had migrated from the west coast and settled in this part of the country; and it may be that they brought with them these Malayalee priests. This

* See my book " Four Chola Temples " for more particulars.

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hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that Parasurama is closely connected with the Kerala country and the land west of the Sahyadri mountains is said to have been reclaimed by him from the sea and colonised by the custodians of Vedic culture. The Paluvettaraiyar chiefs played no insignificant part in the early Chola period.

In the famous inscription of Aditya I at Tillaisthanam, mention is made of the close political alliance between him who claims "to have overrun the Tondainadu" (Aditya I) and *Seraman Sthanu Ravi*. And the Anbil plates of Sundara Chola mention that Parantaka I married the daughter of the *Kerala King* who was called *Paluvettaraiyan*. We are not in a position to know whether, even along with the presence of the Malayalee priests, the Paluvettaraiyar chiefs were in control of this region and one of their daughters was given in marriage to Parantaka I, or whether there was an induction of a new branch of Paluvettaraiyar chiefs after the royal wedding. It may be added that Velan Kumaran, a Malayalee (Kerala) general, distinguished himself under Parantaka's son Rajaditya in resisting the Rashtrakuta invasion from his military camp at *Gramam*. (See under "Parantaka I" in Part II of this book to be published.)

Tiruverumbiyur Alvar Temple
(Pipilisvaram)

Tiruverumbur

Tiruverumbur is about five miles (8·05 km.) east of Tiruchy. The temple has a romantic setting with a beautiful natural scenery overlooking the hill on which the temple stands. It is surrounded by a rich tract of paddy and plantain.

This temple is of great antiquity. The legends say that Indra and other *devas* in the form of ants worshipped the Lord of the place and gained their salvation. Also *Karan*, brother of *Trisiras*, the great eponymous hero of Tiruchy, assumed the form of an ant, adored the Lord and attained His grace. Besides, Lakshmi, Agni, Muruga, and Agastya are said to have worshipped the Lord and gained their salvation.

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This place has many names — *Tiruverumbiyur*, Brahmapuram, Lakshmipuram, Madhuvanapuram, Ratnakutam, Kumarapuram, *Pipilisvaram* and *Ten-Kailasam*. It is said that in a quarrel between Adisesha and Vayu, a few bits of the Himalayas were blown off and one of them is the hill in this place. Hence it bears the name of Tenkailasam which occurs in a few inscriptions of this place.

The existence of this temple on the hill (*Erumbiyur-Malaiyan*, the Lord of the hill of Erumbiyur) in the seventh century A. D. is attested by the *Devaram* hymns of the Tamil saint Appar. How far earlier the temple was in existence, we are unable to know for want of evidence. Next, after a gap of more than two centuries, we come to the days of Aditya I.

There is conflicting and even confusing evidence regarding the origin of the present temple in the early Chola period and it is difficult to unravel the tangled skein of the chronology of the numerous Rajakesari inscriptions of this place.

There are twenty-one inscriptions of Rajakesarivarman with dates ranging from the 3rd to the 19th years which can be identified only on the basis of internal evidence and the paleographical features of the inscriptions.

The earlier Government Epigraphists who copied the inscriptions and prepared the report in 1914 held the view that the records of the 5th, 6th and 7th years whose characters are early and which have *pulli* marks on consonants should be assigned to Aditya I. And the astronomical details furnished by these inscriptions enabled them to assign somewhat satisfactory dates within the limits of the reign of Aditya I.

But they created a hurdle for themselves by suggesting that, if an inscription referred to the deity as *Erumbiyur Alvar*, it should be deemed pre-Parantaka I, but if it bore the name of *Tirukkailasam Udaiyar*, it should be considered to belong to Parantaka I or his successors. A wrong premise leads to an absurd conclusion. When there are

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various names to a *deity*, a particular name preferred depends on the whim, fancy or predilections of the donor. On the above assumption of the Government Epigraphists, the inscription of Rajendra I (100 of 1914) which refers to the deity as *Tiruverumbur Udaiya Mahadeva* has to be ascribed to a period before Parantaka I, and similarly an inscription of the 18th year of Rajakesari (Aditya I) (119 of 1914) in which the deity is described as *Sri Kailasattu Mahadeva* should be placed later than Parantaka I. Hence this hypothesis has to be abandoned.

Now to the next point. There are *two* persons who claim the honour of constructing (or rebuilding) this temple in the early Chola days. An inscription of the 19th year of Rajakesarivarman (118 of 1914, No. 287 of SII. XIII) mentions that a lady named *Tattan Sendi*, the wife of a member of the *Alunganam* (the Executive Committee of the village in charge of the administration) of Sri Kantha Chaturvedimangalam (Tiruverumbur) made an endowment for a lamp and offerings to the God *Aditta Bhattarar* in the *temple on the hill which she had built.* The relevant text of the inscription is this: "*ivvur tirumalaimel Adittabhattararkku nan eduppitta tiruk-koyil devarkku tiruvamudukkum tiruvilakkukkum, neyyamudukkumaga vaitta nilamavadu.*". The other is *Velan Viranarayanan* alias *Sembiyan Vedi Velan* who, in inscriptions of a Rajakesarivarman (3rd year — 129 of 1914, 5th year — 103 of 1914 and 7th year—112 of 1914) claims to have built the *Sri-Vimana* of Sri Tiruverumbur Alvar.

All the twenty-one inscriptions of Rajakesarivarman are on the main walls of the temple. The particulars that they furnish are not sufficient for their proper identification. Some of them were assigned by the earlier Government Epigraphist (1914 Epi. Report) to Aditya I (104, 105, 127, 130, 131, 132 and 133 of 1914) merely on the basis of the paleographical features or on the astronomical particulars furnished by the inscriptions, and some others on the mere juxtaposition of the epigraphs on the walls of

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the temple. It was argued that if they were adjacent, they should relate to successive rulers. But the classification of these epigraphs on any one criterion proves unsatisfactory. Hence, a full consideration and assessment of all the relevant factors is necessary for a proper and fairly satisfactory solution and identification. There are ten Rajakesari inscriptions with regnal years ranging from the fourth to the seventh and some of them may belong to Aditya I. The earliest of these is one of the fourth year of Rajakesarivarman (114 of 1914), excluding one of his 3rd year belonging to Sembiyan Vedi Velan. It refers to a gift of 15 *kalanju* of gold for a lamp and for the supply of a pot of water every day to the temple of Tiruk-Kailayattu Mahadeva at Sri Kantha Chaturvedimangalam, and this was assigned to a king later than Parantaka I on account of the mention of the name of the deity as Tiruk-kailayattu Mahadeva. The untenability of this theory has already been pointed out. This record in my opinion should be assigned to Aditya I. So this temple should have come into existence some time *before the fourth year of Aditya I.* To him also may be assigned the following inscriptions — 132 and 133 of the 5th year, and 127 and 130 of the 6th year, on the basis of paleographic considerations, i.e., the presence of *pullis* on the consonants. There are three other Rajakesari inscriptions, one of the 18th year (119 of 1914) and two of the 19th year (118 and 110 of 1914), all of which are on the west wall of the *garbha-griha* and which, on account of their high regnal years, can be safely and definitely assigned to Aditya I.

We have already mentioned the inscription of the 19th year of Rajakesarivarman (A.D. 890) (Aditya I) which refers to the erection of the temple of Aditya Bhattarar and an endowment for a lamp and offerings to this deity by a lady, Tattan Sendi.

An inscription of the 18th year of Rajakesarivarman (119 of 1914) relates to a gift of a lamp to Tenkailayattu Mahadevar. Because of the mention of this name of the

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deity, it has been argued that it should be assigned to a king later than Parantaka I and so it should belong to Sundara Chola. This theory has already been refuted, and the high regnal year would suit *Aditya I*, not Sundara Chola.

The other inscription of the 19th year of Rajakesarivarman (110 of 1914) mentions a gift of land for a lamp to the temple of Mahadeva on the hill. Again the strange argument has been advanced that, because in continuation of this inscription is engraved an inscription of Parantaka I, it should be a record of Parantaka I's predecessor, viz, Aditya I. The reason assigned is not sound, but the conclusion is. Its high regnal year is sufficient justification for assigning it to Aditya I.

Next, in order, we have a group of eight inscriptions of a Rajakesarivarman. All of them relate to endowments made by a single person. These inscriptions form an integral unit covering a compact period from the *third to the seventh* year of a single ruler. This donor is *Velan Viranarayanan* alias *Sembiyan Vedi Velan.**

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* (1) 3rd yr. Rajakesari — 129/1914 — builder of the *Vimana* — four persons to sing *Tiruppadiyam* with *udukkai* and *talam*.

(2) 3rd yr. Rajakesari — 123/1914 — joint sale of land by the *sabha* of Srikantha Chaturvedimangalam and the *Urar* of Erumbiyur to this donor to make a gift to maintain four persons to sing *Tiruppadiyam*.

(3) 5th yr.— 103 of 1914 — The *sabha* sells land to this donor to make an endowment to feed 15 Brahmans.

(4) 6th yr. — 131 of 1914 — sale of land by the *sabha* to this donor for a *madavilagam* (street adjacent to the temple for the occupation of the temple servants.)

(5) 7th yr.— 102 of 1914 — The donor, the builder of the *Vimana*, a gift of land to dig a channel with a sluice to irrigate temple lands.

(6) 7th yr. — 104 of 1914 — builder of the *Vimana* — sale of land to donor, mention of *Uttamasili Vaikkal*.

(7) 7th yr. — 105 of 1914 — the *donor* gets the tax-levying right by paying compensation amount and endows it for the proper maintenance of the village tank.

(8) 7th yr. — 112 of 1914 — donor's gift of a *Jivitam* to watchman (*Tiru-meykappu*) of Tiruverumbiyur Alvar; builder of the *Sri Vimana*.

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In some of these inscriptions, he claims to have constructed the *Srivimana* of Tiruverumbiyur Alvar — "*it-tiruverumbiyur alvar Sri Vimanam eduppitta*". In addition to the construction of the temple on the hill, he is credited with a large number of gifts for various services to the temple and the locality. They are for the maintenance of singers of *Devaram* with musical instruments, feeding of Brahmans well versed in the Vedas in the feeding house (*Chatram*) in the premises of the temple on the hill, provision of quarters for the temple servants near the temple (*madavilagam*), digging of a channel to irrigate the temple lands, provision to keep the village tank in good repair by deepening it by dredging operations every year, and the provision of a *jivitam* (land gift for maintenance) to the watchman of the temple of Tiruverumbiyur. He was a rich and pious man who enjoyed a lot of power and influence in the Chola court. He seems to have obtained a special royal order (*Sri Mukham*) to dig a channel from the village tank to provide irrigation facilities to the temple lands (" ich-Chembiyan Vedi Velar Srimukham kunarndu kalli vaitta Kiliyur Vaikkal": 129 of 1914 and No. 51 of SII, XIII).

In spite of clear indications that they are gifts by *one* donor during the period of a *single* ruler, G. V. S. Rao distributes these inscriptions among various rulers, Gandaraditya, Sundara Chola and Rajaraja I, separated by an interval of forty years, on what seem to me insufficient and unsound grounds. Discussing inscription No. 103 of 1914, he states that this donor figures as the builder of the *Srivimana*, and that inscription No. 104 of 1914 makes mention of a channel called *Uttama Sili Vaikkal*, evidently after a son of Parantaka I, and that all these records (of this donor) have to be assigned to a successor of his, either Gandaraditya or Parantaka II Sundara Chola, both of whom are Rajakesarivarmans, "as against the view expressed in M.E.R. 1915, II, 20 referring them all to Aditya I on the basis of astronomical details contained in them. It is quite likely

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that these details would yield alternate equivalents for dates later than Parantaka I". (Vide SII, XIII, No. 110).

Again about an inscription of the 7th year of Rajakesarivarman (102 of 1914 — No. 163 of SII, XIII), he opines that "this is probably a record of the reign of Rajaraja I" without assigning reasons; and of another of the same seventh year (104 of 1914 — No. 164 of SII, XIII), he states :

"Among the boundaries of the land is mentioned a hamlet forming part of *Uttamasili chaturvedimangalam*, a village named after prince Uttamasili, son of Parantaka I. The details of the date agree for A.D. 991, January 15, Thursday, and thus the inscription may by assigned to Rajaraja I." The two other inscriptions of the 7th year of Rajakesari (105 and 112 of 1914; SII. XIII, Nos. 165-166) are also assigned to Rajaraja I. Assuming that the *Sri Vimana* was built only in the days of Rajaraja I by the said Sembiyan Velar, let us study its implications. The very fact that all the records of Rajakesarivarman (Aditya I) from his 3rd to the 19th years are found on the walls of the *garbhagriha*, and they are *original* inscriptions — not copies — indicates the existence of the *garbhagriha* from the days of Aditya I. Though the term *vimana* in Chola epigraphy connotes both the *garbhagriha* and the super-structure over it, we have to take the *Sri Vimana* of Sembiyan Velar's inscription as the building of the super-structure only. Further if the *garbhagriha* portion was a construction of the days of Sundara Chola or Rajaraja I, we cannot explain the existence of earlier *original* inscriptions of Aditya I and Parantaka I on its walls.

There is one way of solving this puzzle and deciding this knotty question; one point is clear that all the eight inscriptions of the donor should be attributed to one ruler. He may be Aditya I or Gandaraditya.

At Koyiladi, there is an inscription of the 3rd year of a Rajakesarivarman (281 of 1901) in which this chief Sembiyan Vedi Velan claims to have built the Siva temple there of

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stone and to have made some endowments to that deity. Strangely enough, the Koyiladi temple which Sembiyan Vedi Velan claims to have built is also a foundation of Aditya I's days. And, as in the case of Tiruverumbur, he should have made vast improvements to complete the building programme of an earlier age.

The real difficulty in assigning Velan Viranarayanan alias Sembiyan Vedi Velan to the days of Aditya I is the assumption of the name of *Viranarayana*, a surname of Parantaka I, by the donor as part of his full name and the mention of the existence of a *channel* and a *village* named after *Uttamasili*, a son of Parantaka I.

This will lead us to the inevitable conclusion that this chief should be assigned to the *post-Parantaka* age, closer to that of Parantaka I than to that of Sundara Chola or Rajaraja I. So I consulted D. C. Sircar, the then Government Epigraphist for India, and he was kind enough to reply as follows :—

"A careful consideration of the palaeography of Tiruverumbur and Koyiladi inscriptions you have cited in your letter shows that none of them can be assigned to the period of Aditya I. They are all of the post-Aditya period, and some of them (112 of 1914, 279 and 281 of 1901) show comparatively later features in palaeography than the rest, in that none of these inscriptions has *pullis* marked on the letters."

As these inscriptions cannot be assigned to Aditya I, they have to be attributed to Gandaraditya, the son and successor of Parantaka I.

It has to be presumed that the temple on the hill was originally constructed by Tattan Sendi on or before the 4th year of Aditya I (114 of 1914; 5 yr.—132 and 133 of 1914; 6 yr.—130 of 1914; 18 yr.—119 of 1914; 19 yr.—118 and 110 of 1914), that she made, to the temple that she had built already, an endowment in the 19*th year of Aditya I*, and that Sembiyan Vedi Velan made extensive additions to the temple and gifts to this deity in the days of Gandar-

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aditya. The name of this deity *Aditta Bhattarar* also reinforces the conclusion that this temple is a foundation of the days of Aditya I.

Owing to the above considerations, I am unable to agree with the view of Nilakanta Sastri that this chief who built the Pipilisvara temple of Tiruverumbiyur was a feudatory of Sundara Chola (*The Colas*, 2nd Edition, page 706). There are four inscriptions of Parantaka I ranging from his 26th to his 36th year. One of them refers to the consecration of *Uma Bhattariyar* of Tiruverumbiyur Alvar in Sri Kantha Chaturvedimangalam. The practice of building separate shrines for the Goddess was not in vogue in the early Chola period. (Rajendra I is said to have built a shrine for the Goddess at Gangaikonda Solapuram. This was generally prevalent only from the days of Kulottunga I). We may hazard the guess that it might be the consecration of a metallic image of the Goddess. Such images of the Goddess called *Bhogesvari* are found installed in early Chola temples and kept in the *ardhamandapas* of these temples.

The provision for feeding Brahmans learned in the Vedas and the audit of temple accounts by the royal officer during the king's tour of inspection are mentioned in the inscriptions of Rajaraja I.

The local inscriptions mention two distinct local bodies, the *Urar* of Tiruverumbiyur and the *Perunguri Sabha* of Sri Kantha Chaturvedimangalam. The Chaturvedimangalams were generally Brahman settlements. These local bodies functioned separately as in the case of appointing a watchman or jointly when common affairs needed joint deliberation. There is recorded a case of dispute of ownership of lands (*sabha-vivada nilam*) and the two bodies met together to sell the land in dispute to a donor who gave it away as a gift to the temple (123 of 1914).

This temple is a *karrali* (stone-temple). The super-structure seems to be of brick and plaster rebuilt at a later age.

The *garbhagriha* is a square 18 feet 10 inches (5·74 m)

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side in the exterior and 11 feet 3 inches (3·43 m) in the interior. On each wall, there is a central niche (*devakoshta*) adorned with two small pilasters and flanked by two other taller ones. There are *panjaras* projecting on either side of the niche. There is a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice and a *yali* frieze above it. There is a *makara-torana* crowning each *devakoshta*, and fine sculptures adorn each *torana*. The chief figures of the *devakoshtas* of the *garbhagriha* and of the *ardhamandapa* are: Ganesa and Dakshinamurti in the south, Harihara in the west, and Brahma and Durga in the north; the corresponding *torana*-figures are: Ganesa, Nataraja, Yoga Nrsimha, Lakshmi (Sarasvati ?) with two lamps and two *chauris*, and Lakshmi respectively.

The *ardhamandapa* measures 14 feet 2 inches (4·32 m) in front of the *garbhagriha* and there are two *dvarapalas* in front of it.

There is a *mukhamandapa*, 25 feet (7·62 m) square, supported by six pillars with bulbous capitals, three on each side of the central passage, and three round pillars close to the wall of enclosure on the two sides.

The temple has also a *mahamandapa* further up, and this group together with the later shrine of the Goddess are within a larger *prakara* enclosed by a wall of enclosure (*madil*).

The sub-shrines are not in existence, but Ganesa and Subrahmanya are housed in their proper positions within the inner *prakara* round the *garbhagriha*.

Darukavanesvara Temple

(Tirupparaitturai Paramesvara Perumanadigal)

Tirupparaitturai

Tirupparaitturai is about eleven miles (17·70 km.) west of Tiruchy town, close to the Upper Anicut, on the south bank of the Kaveri; Elamanur is the nearest railway station. On the north bank of the undivided Kaveri (Akhanda Kaveri), we have the Vishnu temple of Gunasekharam. Now, Tirupparaitturai is held sacred as an important bathing ghat on the Kaveri before she branches off into two.

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The two oldest inscriptions on the walls of the old central shrine (recently renovated) are those of the 14th and 27th years of Rajakesarivarman, which have to be assigned to Aditya I (246 and 258 of 1903). The first refers to a gift already made to the temple of *Tirupparaitturai Paramesvarar* which was found insufficient, and therefore the *Sabha* of Vijayankura Charuppedimangalam and the officer in charge of *Srikaryam* bought some more lands from the village of Kodiyalam and the enhanced income was to be utilized for various offerings and services. The second refers to a gift of one *veli* of land for various services, food offerings, lamp, plantain fruits, vegetables, curds, betel leaves, areca nuts, etc. to various deities in the temple including *Saptamatrikas*, *Ganapati*, *Subrahmanya*, *Durgai*, *Aditta-Pidarar* (Sun-God) and *Namanar* (Yama). Yama is one of the *dik-palas* and the rest are *parivaradevatas* whose installation in sub-shrines round the main shrine is a feature universal in practice in this early Chola age. It is evident that they also enjoyed the benefit of worship as much as the deity of the central shrine.

There are about nine inscriptions of Parakesarivarman without surnames or epithets of identification (3rd to 23rd years), and three inscriptions of Parantaka I (20th year, 28th year and 30th year — 255, 263, and 245 of 1903). One of the 8th year of Parakesarivarman mentions the reclamation of some waste land (*kalli-vayakkina tidal*) in the neighbouring village of Isanamangalam and its gift to Tirupparaitturai Perumanadigal for a lamp by Kodumbalur Tiruppudisvarattup-perumanadi. There was an old temple at Kodumbalur called Tiruppudisvaram. Was the donor a chief of Kodumbalur bearing the name of that deity ? Another inscription of the 22nd year of Parakesarivarman mentions a sale of land for 130 *kalanju* of gold to the Chandra-Sekhara Perumanadigal (metal image ?) of Tirupparaitturai by Maran Kudittalai Achan Irupadin Eluvon of Talaivayppadi in Uraiyur Kurram. One *Nangai Pudi Madevadigal* (a Kodumbalur lady related to the

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royal family ?) makes a gift of 90 sheep for a lamp to the local deity.

The inscription of the 20th year of Parantaka mentions a gift of 20 *kalanju* of gold for a lamp by Umaiyal alias Arinjigai Adittan, elder sister of Valavan (King's elder sister ?). The other two inscriptions also refer to gifts of lamps and for the supply of ghee to the temple. The deity of this temple was also the recipient of gifts during the reigns of later Chola and Pandya rulers — Rajaraja I, Rajendra I and Maravaraman Sundara Pandya.

The old temple has been completely renovated and this has resulted in incalculable harm to the cause of Archaeology.*

The two *dvarapalas* in front of the *ardhamandapa* and the Ardhanari sculpture in the *deva-koshta* seem to be original sculptures. The two sculptures of Brahma and Dakshinamurti found under a tree in the outer *prakara* of the temple are excellent specimens of the early Chola period (9th century A.D.). These have since been removed to a Bombay Museum.

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* I am afraid there is a wrong entry in the *List of Inscriptions* copied by the office of the Superintendent of Epigraphy, Madras, published by C. R. Krishnamacharlu, Superintendent of Epigraphy, compiled up to 1938 — a very useful publication. It is on page 90—Trichinopoly district, entry Tirppiraitturai (Tiruppalatturai — 1903, 244-290; 1907, 169-180 and 1908, 562-586). In my opinion, the inscriptions of the 1903 report alone seem to belong to this place, and those of 1907 and 1908 to another place *Tiruppalturai* about five miles from Srirangam on the bank of the Coleroon (Kollidam) leading to the Grand Anicut. *Tirupparaitturai* had only 46 inscriptions (1903 Report). This mis-joinder of places which caused me a lot of confusion and difficulty should also be responsible for the statement on page 5 of the Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1939-40 to 1942-43 :— "A few more instances of the baneful practice of rebuilding temples without proper care being taken for preserving the inscriptions in them have been brought to light. The most glaring of them is afforded by the temple at Tiruppilatturai or Tirupalatturai in the Trichinopoly district where *eighty* inscriptions have been copied by the department formerly." As already stated, the local temple has to its credit only 46 inscriptions (1903 Report).

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Tiruppalturai (Tirupparrurai)

Tiruppalturai is a village situated on the southern bank of the Kollidam (Coleroon) about five miles (8·05 km) away on the road from Srirangam or Tiruvanaikka to the Grand Anicut. This place should be distinguished from Tirupparaitturai on the southern bank of the undivided Kaveri near the Upper Anicut served by the Elamanur Railway station of the Southern Railway. The local legend says that there was a *linga* lying buried in an ant-hill. A Chola king is said to have seen a golden bird frequently perch on this spot. When the earth and the ant-hill were dug up, the spade seems to have damaged the *linga*, and milk is said to have flowed from the wounded part. The place came therefore to be called Tirup-pal-turai (the place of the *linga* from which milk flowed).

The deity was called in inscriptions *Mahadeva Bhattarar* or *Paramesvara* at *Tiruppalturai*. In some inscriptions the village where the temple stands is called *Tiruppanambudur* included in *Uttamasilichaturvedimangalam*, a *brahmadeya* whose Assembly exercised jurisdiction over the affairs of this temple. This village should have been named after Uttama Sili, one of the sons of Parantaka I.

On the north wall of the *mandapa* of the Adimulesvara temple, there is an inscription of the 22nd year of Nandi-pottaraiyan (III) (A. D. 857) and it mentions a gift of gold for two lamps to the temple of Mahadeva Bhattarar at Tiruppalturai. This establishes the existence of this temple in the middle of the 9th century.

We are not in a position to say if any of the Rajakesari inscriptions could be assigned to Aditya I even though the temple should have existed in his time.

The existence once of inscriptions of Parantaka I in this temple is inferred from a reference to them in a later inscription.

An inscription of the 8th year of Parakesarivarman, which may be assigned to Uttama Chola, mentions that there

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were two old inscriptions of the 18th and 20th years of Parantaka I which were found engraved on the steps (*padikkattu*) of the old central shrine and that the Assembly of Uttamasilichaturvedimangalam ordered them to be re-engraved on the walls of the temple. This suggests a renovation of the temple.

Some of the Rajakesari records may be assigned to Gandaraditya, son of Parantaka I. One of his 8th year (176 of 1907 : SII, XIII, No. 177 ; 570 of 1908 : SII, III, No. 111) mentions that an officer, called Pallavaraiyar alias Kilmattur Paruvur (Perundarattu Tappildaram), of *Pillaiyar Arikulakesariyar*, a son of Parantaka I, made a gift of land, after having it made tax-free by the *sabha* of Uttamasilichaturvedimangalam, to the Siva temple of Tiruppanambudur (the ancient name of the Adimulesvara Temple), situated in the hamlet of Uttamasilichaturvedimangalam. The same donor makes another gift of land in the 9th year (the old reading was 8th year : 574 of 1908: 178 of 1907, SII, III, 3, No. 112) and the *sabha* made it tax-free.

An inscription of the fifth year of Rajakesarivarman, who may be identified with *Sundara Chola* (171 of 1907: SII, XIII, 106), records a gift of lands by *Balasriyan Bhattan Sivakuttan*, a native of Adanur, to the temple of Tiruppalturai Mahadeva for a perpetual lamp, midday offerings and various other services. The *Perunguri Sabha* of Uttamasili Chaturvedimangalam which met in the western corner of the enclosed verandah (*tiruch-churralai*) of *Tiruvennaval Udaiyar* of *Tiruvanaikkaval* (near Sri Rangam) received 50 *Ilakkasu* as compensation amount and made the land tax-free and ordered the document to be engraved on the walls of this temple. A breach of this transaction was to be penalised by the *devakanmis* of *Tiruppalturai* and the *Pan-Mahesvaras* of the 78 *nadus*. There is an inscription of the 5th year of Rajakesarivarman (74 of 1914), who is also to be identified with *Sundara Chola*, at Kamarasavalli, and in this the same donor makes a grant of land to the Karkotisvara temple there.

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We have already stated that, in the days of Uttama Chola, two inscriptions of Parantaka I found on the steps of the temple were ordered to be re-engraved on the main walls of the temple.

This is a temple of the 9th century.*

Valikandesvaram Temple

Valikandapuram

Valikandapuram is in the Perambalur Taluk of the Tiruchy district, 38 miles (61·16 km.) from Tiruchy on the trunk road to Madras. It has an early Chola temple called *Valikandesvaram*. This place was perhaps named after *Vali*, the monkey-king of Ramayana fame. It may be that Vali met Rama here during his exile (at least there exists a

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* The Government Epigraphists have wrongly clubbed together inscriptions of two places —*Tirupparaitturai* near Elamanur station on the Upper Anicut whose presiding deity is Darukavanesvarar, and this place *Tiruppalturai* which is near the Grand Anicut. This caused great confusion and difficulty in the matter of identification. Vide List of inscriptions copied by the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, compiled up to March 1938, page 90 — Trichinopoly District — Tiruppiraitturai (Tirupparatturai) :

1903 : 244 — 290

1907 : 169 — 180

1908 : 562 — 586

Also, see the "Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy", 1939-40 to 1942-43, page 5, where there is a reference to 'Art Enemies': "A few more instances of the baneful practice of rebuilding temples without proper care being taken for preserving the inscriptions in them have been brought to light. The most glaring of them is afforded by the temple at Tirupparaiturai or Tiruppalatturai in the Tiruchinopoly district where 80 inscriptions have been copied by the Department formerly. The temple has been completely renovated recently by the rich Nagarattar community with the result that all but one epigraph have disappeared, the inscribed stones having been either built in or broken and completely lost". These remarks were directed against the *Tirupparaitturai temple* near the *Upper Anicut*. Only the 46 inscriptions of the 1903 Report relate to this place. The inscriptions covered by the other two Reports of 1907 and 1908 belong to the Adimulesvara temple at *Tiruppalturai* near the *Grand Anicut*. To get my inference confirmed or corrected by the Department, I wrote to D.C. Sircar, the then Government Epigraphist for India, and he was good enough to reply : "The position as detailed in your letter is correct. There has been a mix-up of the places and we have rectified the same in our records".

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popular belief to that effect). Vali might have worshipped this Lord; this place is also called Vilvaranyavanam.

There are four inscriptions of Rajakesarivarman, all of his fourteenth year, and they may be assigned to Aditya I. An inscription of the 4th year of Parantaka I is engraved below them; one of them (No. 238 of 1943-44) records an agreement made by the *Sankarappadi Nagarattar* (a merchant-guild of oil-mongers ?) to burn a perpetual lamp in the temple in return for 7½ *kalanju* of gold received by them.

There are seven inscriptions of Parakesarivarman — unidentified — and sixteen of Parakesarivarman who took Madurai, i.e., Parantaka I (4th year to the 40th year). At least one of the Parakesari records without any distinguishing epithet might be attributed to Parantaka I. One *Nattadigal*, daughter of *Vennadudaiyar Akkoppugalaraiyar* and wife of *Vira Sola Miladudaiyar* (239, 241, and 248 of 1943-44) makes a gift of 7½ *kalanju* of gold for a lamp in the 4th year of Parakesari (241 of 1943-44), and Akkoppugalaraiyar makes a gift of the village of Mangalam in Pandi Nadu as a *devadana* to this temple in the 4th year of Parantaka I (239 of 1943-44). It may be added that in an inscription of the 16th year of Parakesarivarman (253 of 1943-44) — unidentified but may be assigned to Parantaka I — a resident of Mangalapuram makes a number of gifts to this temple :—a betel-holder (*kalanji*), a mirror, and a *pattam* (forehead plate) weighing one *kalanju* of gold. And in the 24th year of Parantaka I, Akkoppugalaraiyar makes a gift of a lamp to this temple (248 of 1943-44). All these records belong to Parantaka I. According to an inscription of the 31st year of Parantaka I, one Kumaradi Tiruvarangan, who is described as the *Kani-nayakan* (an officer) of *Pillaiyar Rajadittar*, son of Parantaka I, makes a gift of two forehead-plates to this deity.

There are two inscriptions of Parantaka I (19th year: 259 of 1943-44, and 33rd year : 251 of 1943-44) which mention a big street in this place called *Gandarul Gandap-perun-*

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teruvu, the residence of the members of the Sankarappadi merchant-guild. There is an inscription of the 14th year of Rajakesarivarman from *Udaiyargudi* (Kattumannargudi, S. Arcot) which should be assigned to Sundara Chola, which also mentions a street there called Gandarul-Ganda-Vidi; hence this title of Gandarul Ganda is likely to have been borne by Parantaka I; and it is only appropriate that a street named after this surname is found in the very village of Viranarayana Chaturvedimangalam (of which Udaiyargudi is a part) founded by Parantaka I himself.

An inscription of the 31st year of Parantaka I mentions that the *nattars* of Vennadu, the *devaradiyar*, the *nagarattar* of Valikandapuram, and the *Pan-Mahesvarar* (of the temple) entrusted gold with Kumaradi Tiruvarangan for raising a wall of enclosure (*Tiruchchurralai*) for the temple of Tiru-valisvarattup-Perumal at Valikandapuram (261 of 1943-44).

There is a Rajakesari inscription which might be assigned to Gandaraditya; one Maravan Tunganai alias Pirantaka Valanadudaiyan and his brother-in-law Vanarayan Aravinjan Rajadittan entered into a contest, perhaps a *duel*, in which the latter was defeated (and killed). Thereupon the former was made to provide a perpetual lamp in the temple for the spiritual merit of the deceased. The names of the parties — *Parantaka* and *Rajadittan* — named after the members of the royal family, would suggest that this Rajakesari inscription might be assigned to *Rajakesari Gandaraditya*, the son and successor of Parantaka I. (243 of 1943-44).

There are in this temple a large number of inscriptions of the later Cholas.

This temple may be assigned to the days of Aditya I.

The *garbhagriha* is a square 15 feet 6 inches (4·72 m.) side. The plinth has a lotus moulding, *kumudam* and a a *yali* frieze.

The pilasters are 5 feet 6 inches (1·68 m) high and are adorned with *kumudam* and *palagai*. The brackets are plain and angular. There is no *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice.

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It has a bulbous *sikhara*, but it is new. In front there are two more *mandapas* of a later age.

Vaidyanathasvami Temple

Tirumalavadi

Tirumalavadi lies on the north bank of the Kollidam (Coleroon) opposite to Tiruvaiyaru. It is eleven miles (17·70 km.) from Pullampadi which lies on the Tiruchy-Ariyalur road. This village is known as Tirumalavadi as it was a settlement of the *Malavars*. It is a sacred temple held dear by the princes and the people throughout its long history.

There are two Rajakesari inscriptions of the 23rd and 27th years which should be assigned to Aditya I (18 and 14 of 1920). The first concerns an endowment of land as *devadana* to the Mahadeva at Tirumalavadi. The second, of the 27th regnal year of Rajakesari, registers a gift of 10 *kalanju* of gold and a lamp-stand by a royal queen named *Ilangon Pichchi*, the daughter of Vallavaraiyar and the senior queen (*munnam pugunda muthadeviyar*) of Sola Perumanadigal. Based on palaeography, the Epigraphist of the 1920 Report assigned it to Rajaraja I. But, as will be shown in the sequel, this was a *later copy* of an earlier inscription engraved on the walls of the temple after its renovation in the days of Rajendra I. In view of the high regnal year and the absence of the usual historical introduction of Rajaraja I, and the fact of its being a later copy during the days of Rajendra I, the inscription can be attributed to Aditya I. And the late A.S. Ramanatha Ayyar has suggested that this *Vallavaraiyar* should be the Rashtrakuta king Krishna II and that this lady Ilangon Pichchi should be his daughter (E.I., XXVI, No. 29, p. 233).

There are three inscriptions of Parantaka I and they relate to gifts for lamps (12th year : 91; 18th year : 96-A; and 20th year : 94, of 1895).

An inscription of the 17th year of Madirai Konda Rajakesari (2 of 1920) concerns a gift of a lamp. This may belong to Sundara Chola.

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It is recorded that, in the 28th year and 39th day of Rajaraja I, the king ordered the demolition of the old *vimana* and its rebuilding.

And it is further recorded that in the 14th year 70th day of Rajendra I, the king ordered the re-engraving of the old copied inscriptions on the walls of the newly erected temple.

Such was the care and regard for past charitable endowments and such was the historical sense displayed by the Chola rulers.

The temple of Aditya I's days should have been reconstructed between the 28th year of Rajaraja I and the 14th year of Rajendra I, i. e. between A. D. 1013 and 1026.

Agnisvara Temple

Kumara-vayalur

Kumara-Vayalur in the Tiruchy district had an early Chola temple. The modern Agnisvara temple was called in the past the temple of *Tirukkarrali* (stone-temple) *Paramesvara* (or *Perumal*) at Vayalur. There are seven inscriptions of Rajakesarivarman without any distinguishing epithets, and some of them could be assigned to Rajaraja I, but one of the 31st year could be treated as one of Aditya I. It records a gift of 30 *kalanju* of gold for a lamp to Mahadeva at Vayalur in Uraiyur Kurram, and the *Urar* (the local Administrative body) purchased land to maintain the charity (141 of 1936-7).

There are two inscriptions of Parantaka I (7th and 41st years, 157 and 149 of 1936-37); the one of his 41st year records the presentation of three women to the temple for singing *Tiruppadiyam* hymns and to serve as *Kavarippina*, waving flywhisks to the God. Incidentally, we learn that these women servants of his were acquired as *kullal* earlier in the 35th year of the king, and this reflects a sort of serfdom that prevailed in that age.

Another curious record of the 15th year of Parakesarivarman which may be assigned to Uttama Chola records the consecration of the Goddess *Uma-Bhattaraki* in the temple. One Sendan Kari, who was evidently heirless,

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is said to have adopted the Goddess Herself as her daughter and celebrated her marriage with the God; and she also made provision for the daily worship and offerings to the Goddess by endowing the lands which she had obtained as her *Stridhana.* (151 of 1936-37)

Nagesvara Temple
(Tiruk-Kilk-Kottam)

Kumbakonam

Like Kanchi and Uttaramerur, Kumbakonam is a City of Temples. This place was called *Kudamukku;* and the Vaishnavites call it *Tirukkudandai.* According to the local legends, the Supreme Power entrusted with Brahma a pot of nectar, the source of creation, which He safely deposited on Mount Meru. During the Great Deluge, it floated away and when the floods subsided, the sacred pot reached this place. When Siva investigated into the contents of the pot with an arrow, the nectar flowed down. Out of the flow of this nectar, arose *Kumbhesvara,* the Lord of the oldest and most sacred of all the local temples; and the place came to be named Kudamukku, the mouth of the pot of nectar.

The Nagesvara temple, called *Tiruk-Kilk-Kottam,* is another important and ancient temple. The deity of this temple is believed to have been worshipped by Nagaraja. Appar (7th Century A. D.) in his *Devaram* hymns sings the glory of *Kuttanar* of the *Kilkkottam* of Kudandai on the banks of the swelling floods of the *Ponni* (the Kaveri). Here and near about were fought three great, decisive battles between the Pallavas and the Pandyas; Nandivarman III, the victor of Tellaru, suffered a defeat at the hands of the Pandya ruler at *Kudamukku* but this was followed by two Pallava victories over the Pandyas on the banks of the *Arichit* (Arasalar flowing near Kumbakonam) and at Sri Purambiyam, a few miles away.

On a wall of the shrine of the Goddess of this temple, there is found an inscription of the eighth year of Maranjadaiyan (A. D. 773) which might refer to Varaguna *alias*

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Jatila Parantaka Nedunjadaiyan. It records a gift of 138 cows for milk and 100 *kasu* for two lamps by the Pandya King to the temple of *Tiruk-Kilk-Kottattu Bhattarar* at Tirukkudamukku. So this inscription does not seem to relate to the shrine of the Goddess which would not have come into existence then, but to the main deity of the central shrine of the old temple — perhaps of brick — before its reconstruction. There are a few inscriptions (3rd to 5th years) of Parakesarivarman and Rajakesarivarman without any epithets of identification — and we are not sure if any could be assigned to Vijayalaya or Aditya I. But the inscription of the 15th year of Rajakesarivarman (No. 252 of 1911) can be assigned to Aditya I; and it registers a gift of sheep by Kalayan Manikkam, and his presentation to the temple of two *tadam* (?) and one *kadaram* (copper vessel or drum ?).

There are some inscriptions of Parantaka I ranging from his 27th to his 40th year; and one of the 28th year of Parakesarivarman may also be assigned to this ruler. Most of these refer to gifts of lamps to the Lord of this temple. One of his 40th year (253 of 1911) concerns a gift of land for a lamp and for burning incense (*sidari*) before the shrine of *Suryadeva* situated now in the north-east corner of the temple. This is one of the finest images of Surya that could be assigned to the age of Parantaka I at the latest.

There are two Rajakesari inscriptions which could be assigned to *Gandaraditya* (228 and 255 of 1911). The first refers to a gift of a lamp by a member of the Kaikkola community, *Vira Solat Terinja Kaikkola*, a resident of Tanjavur. *Vira Sola* is a surname of Parantaka I, Gandaraditya's father. The other mentions an impost for the maintenance of the Pandyan army of 3000 *kalanju* levied upon the Assembly of Tirukkudamukku as *dandam* (impost) by Madiraikonda Udaiyar (Parantaka I) in his 38th year, perhaps to prosecute his third war with the Pandyas and the Ceylonese in order to recover the insignia of the Pandyan monarchs for the purpose of investing himself

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with them at the time of his formal coronation at Madurai. The local Assembly was forced to sell some of their land in Arisalur to the temple of Tirukkilkkottattu Paramaswami for 500 *kalanju* of gold to meet part of their liabilities. Incidentally, it mentions that this land was part of the land gift received by them as *Abhisheka Dakshina*, perhaps a gift to the Assembly for some charitable purpose by Parantaka I at the time of his coronation.

There are half a dozen inscriptions of Parakesarivarman who took the head of the Pandya, identical with Aditya II. An inscription of his third year records the sale of land by the Assembly of *Sri Kudandai* (Kumbakonam) to *Koyil Mayilai* alias *Parantaka Muvendavelan* for feeding 20 *Apurvins* versed in the Vedas and five *Siva-Yogins* in the *Srikoyil* of Tirukkilk-Kottattu Perumanadigal (230 of 1911). In the same year, the same donor bought land from the Assembly of Tirukkudamukku and presented it as *bhatta-vritti* to one who expounded the *Prabhakara* school of Mimamsa philosophy (233 of 1911). A record of the fourth year (226 of 1911) records a gift of a lamp to Tirukkilkkottattu Paramesvarar by a woman servant of Queen Udaiya Pirattiyar Kilanadigal, the mother of Anaimerrunjinar, i.e., Rajaditya, the son of Parantaka I who died at Takkolam. The same donor made in the same year a gift of land for feeding fifty Brahmans. A gift of land bought for 85 *kalanju* of gold from the local Assembly was made by another woman servant of the *Palaiya-velam* at Tanjavur for feeding a *Sivayogin*.

Next, we have a few records of Uttama Chola (4th year — 245 of 1911; 8th year — 229 of 1911; and 13th year — 240 of 1911); while two of them concern gifts of lamps, the one of his 13th year mentions a gift of land by *Viranarayaniyar*, daughter of ——— and the queen (*nampirattiyar*) of Sri Uttama Chola, for providing garlands to the temple.

The Sun is believed to have worshipped the Lord of this temple and got back his original splendour which he had lost by the curse of Visvakarma. The rays of the morning

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sun are said to fall on the face of the *Linga* at the time of the equinox. So this place is called Bhaskara Kshetra. It is also called *Vilva-Vanam* as the *Vilva* tree is the *Sthala Vrksha*. Nagaraja or Adisesha is said to have done penance here so that he might be given the strength to bear the burden of the world. Hence, the name of Nagesvara.

This is a *dvitala* temple. Its *griva* and *sikhara* are square. The *garbhagriha* is a square 20 ft. 6 in. (6·25 m.) side. On the three main niches of the outer walls of the *garbhagriha*, we have *Dakshinamurti* (south), *Ardhanari* (west) and *Brahma* (north). Besides, we have *Bhikshatana* and *Durga* in the niches of the *ardhamandapa*. There are, between the niches, free-standing figures of uncommon charm. These should be regarded as finished products of the highest achievement in the realm of Art. Equally exquisite and interesting are the panels of miniature sculptures embedded on the plinth of the *garbhagriha*.

The pilasters have cushion capital with brackets adorned with roll-ornament, and the central band has scrolls. There is a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice. Bracket figures are placed in the corners of the cornice.

Rectangular *salas* with barrel-roof in the centre and square *pancharas* at the ends (*kutas*) are found in the second *tala*.

This is one of the finest of the early Chola temples. Its original structure and the exquisite sculptures on it were really things of beauty radiating joy and aesthetic elevation. It is a pity that this gem of art is marred by bizarre colour-coating indulged in by modern renovators ignorant of the value of true art (pls. 69-71).*

* A record of the 5th year of Rajakesarivarman (236 of 1911) which should be assigned to Rajaraja I mentions the setting up of a *silver image* of the deity (*Vellit-tirumeni*) by Devan Kuppan, one of the Vira Solat-Terinja Kaikkolars, and the interest of an endowment of his of 70 *Ilakkasu* in the third year of Parakesarivarman who took the head of the Pandya was to be utilised for offerings to this deity thrice every day.

There are two important inscriptions of Rajaraja I; one of his sixth year mentions a gift of land by the local Assembly for offerings to the image *Selva-piran* in the *Sri-Vimana* of this temple. This makes it clear that offerings were made to the images of the *devakoshtas*. Another record of his eighth year records offerings to Chandrasekhara-deva, the metallic processional image.

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Sendalai

Sendalai is a small village about two miles (3·22 km.) east of Tirukkattupalli on the road leading to Tiruk-Kandiyur and Tanjavur. It is situated on the southern bank of the Kudamurutti, a branch of the Kaveri.

There is an early Chola temple here, now known as the Sundaresvara temple, but according to the inscriptions on its walls, it was known in the past as the temple of *Perundurai Mahadeva in Chandralekhai Chaturvedimangalam.* The modern name of *Sendalai* is a corruption of Chandralekhai Chaturvedimangalam. This village is described as a *Brahmadeya* village, a Brahman settlement.

There are about forty inscriptions on the walls of this temple covering the period of nearly 500 years from the latter part of the eighth century (A.D. 772) to the thirteenth century (A.D. 1264).

The name of the deity of this temple, according to its earliest inscription, is "Tirupperundurai Mahadeva". This inscription of the sixteenth year of Maranjadaiyan, a Pandya king (A.D. 756-815), is found on a stone on the left side of the entrance to the Vignesvara (Ganapati) shrine in the south-western part of the *prakara* of this temple, not on the walls of the central shrine. And the earliest inscription on the walls of the central shrine is that of the second year of the early Chola king Rajakesarivarman who may be identified with Aditya I (A.D. 873). From this we have to infer that the temple of Sendalai should have previously been a structure of *brick* and it was later built of *stone* in the days of Aditya I. An interesting point to consider here is the name of *Tirupperundurai.* We know that this is the name of the place where the famous Saiva saint Manikkavasagar attained his enlightenment and spiritual beatitude. Whether this place was in any way connected with the life of this saint, we do not know. Anyhow, it seems reasonable to assume that it was named after the illustrious place Tirupperundurai hallowed by the memory of this great saint.

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Nearly a century rolled on after the days of the Pandya ruler Maranjadaiyan. There is an inscription of the 2nd year of a Rajakesarivarman, the earliest inscription on the walls of the central shrine, in which three persons make a gift of fifteen *kalanjus* (gold coin) out of whose interest the managers of the temple agreed to supply one *ulakku* (a measure) of ghee for the burning of a perpetual lamp to Tirupperundurai Mahadeva situated in the *Brahmadeya* village of Chandralekhai Chaturvedimangalam, which was included in the Arkkattukkurram. Arkkadu is a small village, about six miles to the south-west of this village, then the headquarters of this division.

There is an important inscription of the ninth year of Rajakesarivarman (A.D. 880) on the west wall of the central shrine. According to this inscription, the *Great* (*General*) *Assembly* (*Perunguri Sabhai*) of this place bought a piece of land (one *pangu*) and donated it to a person for expounding the *Mahabharatam* every day in the hall of the temple built by one Vennayil Udaiyan Vaira Megha Bhataran of Michengili-nadu. It was stipulated that the donor Singi Nandisvara Bhattan was to enjoy this land in his lifetime and it was to be enjoyed in future "as long as the sun and moon endure" by those who did this discourse on Mahabharatam. Similar provision for the expounding of Mahabharatam was made in the days of the Pallava Kings Paramesvaravarman I (Kuram Plates) and of Nandivarman II (Tandantottam Plates).

This inscription further mentions that the said piece of land was sold by one Koyilan Naga Nandi and that it was situated in the fifty-third *kudumbu* of the village. The word *kudumbu* means, to use a modern expression, a *ward* of a big city. It is interesting to recall that in A.D. 921 (in the days of Parantaka I) the *sabha* of *Uttarameru Chaturvedimangalam* made detailed arrangements for the election by lot (*kudavolai* — pot tickets) of the members of the various *committees* of the General Assembly and prescribed both the qualifications and disqualifications

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of those who could elect the members of the committee. Uttaramerur had only *thirty* wards, but Chandralekhai Chaturvedimangalam is seen to have had at least *fifty-three* wards, if not more. This is nearly twice the size of Uttaramerur. The functioning of these local self-governing bodies, ante-dating Uttaramerur by forty-two years in case this record could be ascribed to Aditya I, is a glorious record in the history of local self-government in South India. Other inscriptions of this ruler refer to gifts of lands and food offerings to the deity. An inscription of the 9th year of Rajakesarivarman (209 of 1926) makes provision for the expenses of a festival in the temple. Another of the 24th year of Rajakesarivarman records a gift of five *kalanju* of gold for a lamp by a lady. Both these records could, without hesitation, be assigned to Aditya I.

A record of a certain Parakesarivarman who can be identified with Parantaka I relates to an endowment of 150 *Ilakkasu* (coin current in Ceylon) for the construction of a tank called '*Virasikhamani pereri*' and providing stone steps for the same.

On the south wall of the *garbhagriha*, there is an inscription of the fourth year of "Parakesarivarman who took the head of the Pandya", who is to be identified with Aditya II (A. D. 956-959). And it makes an endowment of land for burning three *sandi* lamps and for special food offerings to Ganapati.

These are the few glimpses available of the glorious past of this place during the early Chola period.

There are four granite pillars used in the construction of a *mandapa* in front of the main shrine. They belonged to the temple of *Mahakalattu-pidariyar* built at *Niyamam* (modern Nemam) the capital of the Muttaraiyars, by a feudatory of the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallava Malla II (A.D. 731-796). This temple will be dealt with in the section on Nemam.

This is one of the early brick temples re-built of stone in the days of Aditya I. It faces the east and has two *talas*

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surmounted by the *griva* and the *sikhara* (modern) which is bulbous.

The *garbhagriha* is a square 15 feet 10 inches (4·83 m) side and the *ardhamandapa* extends further east by 13 feet 6 inches (4·11 m.). There are two *dvarapalas* at the entrance to the *ardhamandapa* and two more at the entrance to the *mukhamandapa*. Later additions are two more *mandapas*, an Amman temple, walls of enclosure, and a tall *gopuram* in front. There are no *devakoshtas* on the walls of the main shrine. The walls are adorned with pilasters, four on each side, 6 feet 3 inches (1·41 m.) high, and they have cushion capitals with brackets having roll-ornament with a median band. As in the case of Tirukkandiyur, there is a big size figure of Brahma in the round kept in the covered verandah of the south *prakara*. There is a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice and a *yali* frieze above it. The edges of the cornice are adorned with circles and its corners with *kodikkarukku*. There is a Ganapati shrine in the south-west corner of the *prakara*. Some early sculptures of Brahma, Vishnu, Siva and Parvati and a few Saptamatrikas were found lying loose in the northern *prakara*. Some of them have been removed to the Tanjavur Art Gallery (pls. 72-a, b and c).

Agnisvarar Temple

Tirukkattuppalli

Tirukkattuppalli is a village in the Tanjavur District about five miles (8·05 km.) from Budalur, a railway station on the Southern Railway between Tanjavur and Tiruchy, and about 17 miles (27·36 km.) from Tanjavur via Tirukkandiyur. This place has an old Siva temple which can be assigned to the days of Aditya I. The suffix *palli* signifies that it should have been once an abode of the Jains, and this inference is confirmed by my discovery here of a stone image of *Mahavira*, the 24th Jaina Tirthankara, which is housed in the premises of the local High School. The local Jainism should have been swept away by the apostles of Saivism, Appar and Sambandar.

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The temple of Agnisvarar should have been in existence at least some time before the seventh century A.D., as the Tamil saints Appar and Sambandar have sung hymns in honour of the deity consecrated here. As the present stone structure of the temple could not be assigned earlier than to the ninth century A.D., the earlier structure should have been made of brick or other perishable materials.

Appar refers to Agnisvara as a deity worshipped even by the Sun. It may be mentioned here that the image of the sanctum is so placed that the rays of the rising sun fall on the *linga* during the equinoxes. This feature accords with the belief that the Lord of this place is worshipped by the Sun. Appar also mentions that the deity was held dear by the hunters of the forest (*Kanavedar*) and the learned.

Sambandar in his hymns describes Tirukkattuppalli as a place surrounded by forests and watered by the Kaveri.

The original temple built of brick should have been converted into a *karrali* (stone temple) in the days of Aditya I, in the ninth century A.D. The original temple of Aditya I's days consisted only of the *garbhagriha* with a *vimana* over it and the *ardhamandapa*. These two parts form a unit by themselves. The other *mandapas* and the shrine of the Goddess are later additions. The two original *dvarapalas* of the temple which should have adorned the niches on both sides of the entrance to the *ardhamandapa* have since been dislodged from their original positions, and are kept loose on the floor after the construction of the *mukhamandapa* which is provided with a gateway adorned with a *gopuram*.

The temple faces the east and the sanctum is (almost) a square measuring externally 12 feet (3·66 m) side. The cella is a square six feet eight inches (2·03 m) side. It is enclosed by a thick wall. There are niches (*devakoshtas*) on the three sides of the outer wall of the *garbhagriha*, and they contain stone sculptures of Dakshinamurti, Ardhanari, and Brahma. These are later icons replacing the old ones of the original temple. The *vimana* also is

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of stone but is now covered with stucco. The *sikhara* portion has undergone repairs at a later period. The Yoga Dakshinamurti placed in one of the niches of the *griva* is a very interesting piece of sculpture of great artistic merit. Its *yogapattam* and *jatamakutam* need special mention. It is a sculpture of the original temple and we can without hesitation assign it to the ninth century A.D. The northwestern view of the *garbhagriha* (pl. 73-a) will bring out its features and its component parts, and they will be found to be in harmony with the age assigned to the temple.

We have a frieze of *yalis* in the basement and a frieze of *bhutaganas* with bulls, lions and tigers adorning the layer below the cornice. This temple should have been one of the many built during the days of Aditya I.

The only contemporary inscription of the original temple is a fragmentary inscription on a stone slab now embedded in the southern basement of the outer *gopuram* built at a later period. It mentions the name of the Chola King as "*Ko-Irasakesaripanmar*". The date is lost. It mentions a gift of sheep for the supply of ghee to burn a perpetual lamp by a resident of *Tanjavur*.

Further to the east of the *mukhamandapa* and its *gopuram* (the inner), we have the shrine of the Goddess. It faces south and there is another *mandapa* in front of it. These belong to the 13th century.

There are a few sub-shrines in the outer *prakara*. All the shrines are enclosed by high walls of enclosure (*madil*) intercepted in the east by a high tower (*gopuram*) which is the main outer entrance to the temple (pls. 73-a, b and c).

Mahakalattup-Pidarikoyil

Nemam [Niyamam]

Niyamam — modern Nemam — about a mile (1·61 km.) from Tirukkattuppalli on the road to the Grand Anicut — was the capital of the local chiefs called the Muttaraiyars who claimed to be Lords of Tanjai and Vallam; and it was by overthrowing the Muttaraiyars that Vijayalaya revived and re-established the Chola power.

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In the middle of the eighth century, there was a famous Muttaraiyar chief called Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan alias Suvaran Maran, a distinguished general of Nandivarman II who won many victories over the Pandyas. His inscription refers to many of his *birudas*, the victories he won, as sung by his Tamil court poets, and the building of a temple to *Mahakalattup-Pidariyar* at Niyamam. This temple of Pidariyar has gone out of existence, and the four granite pillars, which belonged to that temple, and which contained the inscriptions of not only this Muttaraiyar chief and his ancestors, but also of subsequent rulers who gained control over this region, were removed from that place to Sendalai and used for the building of a *mandapa* in front of the Sundaresvara temple.

In his 12th year (A.D. 847), Tellarerinda Nandi (III) made a gift of 40 *kasu* for a lamp and offerings to the temple of *Niyamattu Makalattu Pidariyar*. Then the country seems to have passed into the hands of the Pandya king Maranjadaiyan in whose tenth year (A.D. 872) a servant of Videlvidugu Muttaraiyan made a gift for a a lamp and offerings to this Pidariyar.

And before the 18th year of Rajakesarivarman (A.D. 889), this region was conquered by the Cholas; and Adigal Kandan Marambavai, the queen of the Pallava king Nandipottaraiyar (Nandi III), makes a gift of 12 *kalanju* of gold for a perpetual lamp to the Mahakalap-Pidariyar of this place. The same queen makes another grant in the 24th year of Aditya I to the local Siva temple of Airavatesvarar. It seems that the Pidari temple should have suffered demolition after the 18th year of Aditya I, to which belongs the last recorded endowment for this Pidari temple, though we are unable to say exactly when or why.

Airavatesvara Temple

This temple is on the southern bank of the Kaveri, a mile from Tirukkattupalli on the road to the Grand Anicut. Niyamam was so called because it was considered a place

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most suitable for man's conquest of his senses. It was a place where a thousand *lingas* placed round a big central *linga* had been installed. Hence it was called Niyamam *Ayirattali* (1000 shrines). The vestiges of this temple could be seen south-west of the Airavatesvara temple.

One of the two inscriptions copied on the walls of the Airavatesvara temple is that relating to the 24th year of Rajakesarivarman, i.e., Aditya I (16 of 1899). It mentions a gift of five *kalanju* of gold by Adigal Kandan Marambavai, the queen of the Pallava king Nandivarman III, for the supply of ghee, milk, and curds for sacred offerings to the Mahadeva of this temple including the *Parivaradevatas* on the two *Vishu* days (equinoxes) and for feeding twenty Brahmans. The priest Isvarakinara Vasudevan Pattudaiyan received the money and agreed to maintain the charity. The other is a much damaged inscription of the 18th year of *Parantaka I* (15 of 1899, SII., VI, 456) on a stone slab built into a doorway of the south wall of the temple; perhaps it concerns a gift for a lamp.

This is a temple built entirely of stone in the days of Aditya I. It is an *ekatala prasada.* The original shrine consisted of the *garbhagriha*, the *ardhamandapa*, and the subshrines, enclosed by a compound wall with a gateway in the east. The *sikhara* has been recently renovated. The original circular stone *stupi* was found lying on the floor of the *prakara.*

Divyajnanesvara Temple
(Tiruppuratturai – Mahadevar)

Koviladi

Koviladi occupies a strategic position at the head of the Kaveri delta and lies midway between Tirukkattuppalli and the Grand Anicut. In the past, it was called *Tiruppernagar* and is famous for both the Vishnu temple of Ranganatha built on a high artificial mound and the Siva temple lying between the trunk road to the Grand Anicut and the Vishnu temple. The Vishnu temple is hallowed by its association with Periyalvar, Nammalvar and Tiru-

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malisai Alvar. It has undergone renovation. But the Siva temple still retains its ancient character and can be assigned to the early Chola times.

In inscriptions, the Siva temple is called that of Tiruppuratturaip-Perumanadigal in Tirupper(nagar) — a *brahmadeya* in *Eri nadu.* There are inscriptions of the later Pallavas on the pillars in front of the central shrine (18th year of Nandivarman III, and of Nrpatunga ranging from his 10th to his 22nd years). Thus it is clear that the temple as a structure of brick was in existence in the 9th century. There is also an inscription of the Muttaraiyars who ruled over this region with Niyamam as their capital. Perhaps, they were lords of this region after the downfall of the Pallavas and before the rise of the Cholas. Ilango Muttaraiyar should have extended his sway as far as Tirukkodikkaval where we have two inscriptions of his 13th and 17th years (39 and 14 of 1930-31). And another of his 18th year is found at Niyamam (12 of 1899: SII. VI, 448). This is the only Muttaraiyar chief who has a regnal year of his own; and it is likely that he enjoyed a short period of independent rule. He should have been overthrown by Vijayalaya, the conqueror of Tanjai and Vallam.

There are three Rajakesari inscriptions; one of his 3rd year and another, whose date is lost, on the west wall of the central shrine mention that one Sembiyan *Vedivelan,* the Lord (Udayar) of Sirudavur in Kiliyurnadu, had the *vimana* of this temple constructed of stone ("it tiruppuratturai emperumanukku kallale vimanam elundaruli-vitta" — 281 and 279 of 1901 and SII.VII, 495 and 301). In the 12th year of Rajakesari a gift of 3 *ma* of land was made as *archana bhoga.*

There is also an uncopied inscription of the 4th year of Rajakesari which can be assigned to Aditya I. We have discussed the place of Vedi Velan in early Chola times in our section on Tiruverumbur. The reconstruction of the *vimana* of this temple of stone, should, as in the case of Tiruverumbur, be attributed to the days of Gandar-

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aditya and he should have completed the work begun in the days of Aditya I.

The *garbhagriha* is a square 17 feet (5·18 m) side. It has a high plain *adhishtanam*. The pilasters are 6 feet 4 inches (1·93 m) high. There are five *devakoshtas* each flanked by two short and two tall pilasters. The figures are Ganesa and Dakshinamurti in the south niches, Ardhanari in the west, and Brahma and Durga in the north.

There is an *ardhamandapa* projecting 5 feet 10 inches (1·78 m) forward towards the east.

Most of the subshrines are in ruins but, out of the wreckage, I was able to trace the original sculpture of Subrahmanya of the *parivaralaya* that can be attributed to the 9th century, and it is lodged in the premises of the High School at Tirukkattupalli (pls. 74-76).

There is a wall of enclosure with a gateway in the east.

Tiru-virattanesvarar Temple

Tirukkandiyur

Tirukkandiyur lies about seven miles (11·27 km) from Tanjavur on the road to Tiruvaiyaru. The Siva temple of Tiruvirattanesvarar is one of the seven temples of the group called *Saptasthana Kshetras*. It is also one of the eight places in the Tamil land where Siva is said to have done heroic deeds (*Vira-sthana*). The deed of valour attributed to Siva in this place is the cutting off of the fifth head of Brahma with His *sula* (trident). Hence the place is also called *Khandanapuram*. The *sthala-vrksha* is the *vilva* tree, said to have been transplanted from *Kailasa;* so this place is also called *Adi-Vilvaranyam*.

This place is also notable because of the existence of independent temples for the Hindu Trinity—Brahma, Siva and Vishnu—in spite of the general belief that there is no independent temple for Brahma. The two temples of Brahma and Vishnu face the east and are situated on the western side of the main road within a furlong from the Siva temple. The Siva temple faces the west and is

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situated to the east of the road from Tanjavur to Tiruvaiyaru at the point where it branches off to the Grand Anicut passing through Sendalai and Tirukkattuppalli.

It is said that Brahma, Surya and Sage Satatapar (Sadanandar) adored the Lord here and attained salvation. The Tamil saints (*Nayanmars*) Appar and Sambandar have sung hymns on this Lord. And Sundarar has also mentioned this place in his hymns.

The earliest inscription on the walls of the *garbhagriha* is one of the 21st year of Ko-Vijaya Nrpatunga Pallava (A.D. 876), a contemporary of Aditya I. It registers a gift of 100 *kalanju* of gold for a lamp and food offerings to *Kalabhattariyar* of the village for which the *sabha* of Tirukkandiyur made over eleven *ma* of land. Though the earliest Chola inscription found here is one of Parantaka I, not of Aditya I, yet this temple has to be assigned to the age of Aditya I because of the architectural features and of its inclusion as one of the *Saptasthana Kshetras* of the Tiruvaiyaru group of temples.

The inscriptions of Parantaka I range from his 11th to his 46th year. One of his 26th year relates to a gift of ($10\frac{1}{2}$ *kalanju*) gold for a lamp by *Pillaiyar Pirantakan Uttamasili* (who was a son of Parantaka I) to the Mahadeva of Tirukkandiyur - Tiruvirattanam, a *brahmadeya* in Arkattu Kurram. The *sabha* of Tirukkandiyur received this amount and sold some lands to the temple for the maintenance of this charity. Another of the 46th year of Parantaka I concerns a gift for a lamp.

There is an inscription of the 17th year of Rajakesarivarman (17-A of 1895) in which there is mention of Periya Vanavan Mahadevi Chaturvedimangalam. As Periya Vanavan Mahadevi, after whom the village is named, is the name of the chief queen of Sundara Chola, this inscription should be assigned to Sundara Chola.

An inscription of the 4th year of Parakesarivarman who cut off the head of the Pandya should be attributed to Aditya II; and according to this, one of the members of

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the *Alunganam* (executive committee in charge of the village administration) bought some lands from the *sabha* of Periya Vanavan Mahadevi Chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeya* on the northern bank of the Kaveri, and gifted them to the Mahadeva of Tirukkandiyur.

In the 9th year of Uttama Chola (13 of 1895), one Mayan Kanjan Villavan Muvendavelan made a gift of a lamp and provision for sumptuous food offerings to this Lord on the day of his natal star *svati*.

The temple faces the west. It is a *dvi-tala* structure with a bulbous *griva* and *sikhara* (modern). The *garbhagriha* is a square 17 feet 10 inches (5·44 m) side and the *ardhamandapa* projects westward by 12 feet (3·66 m.). On the outer walls of the *garbhagriha*, there are three niches in the three central projections. Only Brahma in the northern niche is the original figure. The seated figure of Ardhanari now kept in the covered verandah of the temple might have been the original figure of the eastern niche. There is the figure of Bhikshatana in the southern niche of the outer wall of the *ardhamandapa*.

The second *tala* is adorned with the miniature shrines characteristic of the age. The pilasters are five feet (1·52 m) high. The plinth up to the base of the pilaster is covered up since the level of the surrounding area has risen. Below the pilasters there are *panels of miniature sculptures* of fine workmanship. The pilasters of the central niches are round and those at the ends octagonal. They have cushion capitals and plain angular brackets. The pilasters of the *ardhamandapa* are square in section. There is a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice and a *yali* frieze above it.*

* P. R. Srinivasan, while discussing the *Kandiyur* temple, remarks :— "There was *the pit round it* similar to the pits round the Nagesvara temple at Kumbakonam, the Koranganatha temple at Srinivasanallur, the Brahmapurisvara temple at Pullamangai and several other temples. *It has unfortunately been filled in recently.* Now, therefore, the parts above the *Kanthavarga* alone are visible. There are in the *Kanthavarga* below each pilaster small panels of reliefs".

(Contd. on p. 149)

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There are huge figures of Brahma and Kali in the round in the northern *prakara*. Similar figures of Brahma are found in Sendalai, Nemam and Karuntattangudi (now in the Tanjavur Art Gallery) (pls. 77 a, b, c).

The existence of this temple before A. D. 876 (21st year of Nrpatunga equal to the 5th year of Aditya I) is clearly established. Owing to lack of evidence it is not possible to say whether the original temple was a Pallava or Chola foundation. But it can be safely asserted that it might be included among the temples built in the 9th century during the early years of the rule of Aditya I.

Panchanadisvara Temple

(Tiruvaiyarrup-Parama-Mahadevar)

Tiruvaiyaru

Tiruvaiyaru (= place of five rivers) on the banks of the Kaveri and about ten miles (16·09 km.) from Tanjavur on the road to Kumbakonam is considered as holy as *Kasi* (Benares) and has one of the most celebrated of South Indian temples. It is the land of the *Five Rivers* — the Kaveri and her four branches. But legends say that the five rivers had their origin on the occasion of the coronation of *Nandidevar* — the Head of Siva's attendants (*ganas*). It is said that the water of Siva's sacred vessel, the water of the Ganga flowing from Siva's head, the froth of the cow's mouth, and the nectar of the Moon mixed with the waters of the Kaveri flowing from the water jug of Agastya constituted the five rivers.

Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar have glorified this Lord by their immortal *devaram* hymns; so this temple

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[Footnote Contd. From Page No. 148]

(Art and Architecture of Kandiyur — in the Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India, Vols. 1-3, 1955-58).

I wonder how Srinivasan holds the view that the existence of such *pits* was an architectural feature. While the level of *garbhagriha* has remained the same, that of the surrounding areas of the temple has risen considerably during the period of more than a thousand years. Hence the panels, which should have once been fully exposed to view are partially hidden by the newly risen higher level of the *prakara*.

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should have been a living institution even before the seventh century A. D. But the present central shrine of stone is to be ascribed to the days of Aditya I. There have been in later times many additions; the most important of them are the *Vada-Kailasam*, the *Ten - Kailasam*, the temple of the Goddess, the hundred - pillared hall and the walls of enclosure and the tall towers serving as gateways.

Rajakesari inscriptions ranging from his fifth (135 of 1918) to his twenty-sixth year (237 of 1894) may be assigned to Aditya I. In the earliest Rajakesari inscriptions, the deity is called "Tiruvaiyarru-Parama-Mahadevar". One of his 12th year (250 of 1894) mentions a gift of a perpetual lamp to the Mahadeva of Tiruvaiyaru by Kulamanikka Nampirattiyar, the queen of *Chola Perumanadigal.* In his 17th year (244 of 1894), a mistress (*bhogiyar*) of the Chola king (Chola-Perumanadigal), Nakkan Ayyaradigal, entrusted 30 *kalanju* of gold with the *Nagaram* (merchant guild) of Sivapuri, a neighbouring village, for maintaining a perpetual lamp. Another queen of Aditya I who made a similar endowment was Alisi Kattadigal, the daughter of *Kachchippettu* (Kanchi) *Kudiraichcheri Ammakkanar* (19th year — 238 of 1894).

Another Chola queen, Alundar Tirunarayana Mahadevi, endowed lamps both to the *Mahadeva* and *Jyeshtaiyar* in this temple (19th year, 239 of 1894). In the 20th year (133rd day — 251 of 1894), a mistress of Kannaradeva, son of Aditya I and brother of Parantaka I, made an endowment of 20 *kalanju* for a lamp. The 25th and 26th year inscriptions relate to gifts for lamps. Such was the devotion and dedication of the members of the royal family to Panchanadisvara !

Two Parakesari inscriptions (3rd year - 234 of 1894 and 14th year - 252 of 1894) may be assigned to Parantaka I. The second concerns a gift for a lamp by *Paluvettaraiyan Kandan Amudan*, the great hero of the battle of *Vellur*, which is celebrated in inscriptions from Kilappaluvur (231 of 1926) and Tirupparkkadal (693 of 1904).

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The queen of Parantaka I, Nampirattiyar Tribhuvana Mahadeviyar, made a gift of 15 *kalanju* of gold, in the 14th year of the king, for a lamp, and the *nagaram* of Sivapuri agreed to maintain the charity (242 of 1894). In his 21st or 22nd year, the maid servant of another queen Nampirattiyar Sola Mahadeviyar made a gift for a lamp.

A gift of a silver lamp weighing 57 *palams* and of 30 *kalanju* of gold for the burning of a lamp was made in the 31st year of Parantaka I by another Chola queen Vanavan Madeviyar, the daughter of Nirnayppadiyar (248 of 1894). Another gift for a lamp was made by the Chola queen Sola Sikhamaniyar, the daughter of Nanguri Nangaiyar, in the 34th year of Parantaka I (226 of 1894).

Queen Arinjigai, daughter of Iladarayar, made a gift of land in the king's 40th year to feed a learned Brahman in the temple (144 of 1918).

Irumudi Sola Pallavaraiyar *alias* Namban Ayyaradigal, perhaps a royal officer, made a grant of five *velis* of land to a *matha* attached to the temple run by Niyamadana Svamigal for feeding *Siva Yogins* (241 of 1894).

There is an inscription of Parakesarivarman who cut off the head of Vira Pandya (Aditya II) which mentions the gift of a lamp for the merit of Ayanadi Neruppadai, a member of the *Aditta-terinja-Kaikkolar*.

An inscription of the 3rd year of Rajakesari (147 of 1918) which can be assigned to Rajaraja I mentions a gift of a *chauri* (fly - whisk) by his queen Panchavan Madeviyar, the builder of the *Vada Kailasam*. What a spell this holy place cast on the members of the Chola royal family!

In recent times, Tiruvaiyaru has gained greater prestige by the association with this place of saint Thyagaraja, one of the greatest exponents of carnatic music.

In the earliest inscriptions, the deity is called *Tiruvaiyarru Parama Mahadeva*. The temple faces the east. It is a *dvitala* structure with bulbous *griva* and *sikhara* (modern). The *garbhagriha* is a square 20 ft. (6·10 m) side. An *antarala* connects it with the *ardhamandapa* which extends

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12 ft. 6 inches (3·81m). The plinth has lotus mouldings and a *yali* frieze.

There are figures of Dakshinamurti, Ardhanari and Brahma in the three *devakoshtas*. The pilasters are 7 feet 3 inches (2·21 m) high and the brackets have roll-ornament with a central band.

There is a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice and the latter is adorned with semi-circular *kudus* and *kodikkarukku* at the edges.

The *ardhamandapa* is supported by four pillars. Beyond it there are now gateways four feet (1·22 m) wide both on the north and south sides. The *mukhamandapa* extends further east by 36 feet (10·97 m). It should have been originally a disengaged structure but later joined to the *ardhamandapa* by stone slabs to serve as the roof, and it is provided with gateways on either side. As inscriptions of Rajakesari (Aditya I) and Parantaka I are found on the walls of this *mandapa* it may be considered a part of the original temple.

There is a group of Saptamatrika sculptures now placed in the verandah of the first *prakara* but, in view of the later modifications and enlargements, we are not sure of the position and number of the subshrines ascribable to the early Chola age.*

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* Now, to the origin of Nandidevar. There was a Brahman called *Trisuli*; when a child, in sheer wantonness, he is said to have put a stone, instead of food, into the begging bowl of a sage. The boy grew up and was married in due course but he had no issue. Thereupon, Trisuli did severe penance. The sage, who had been insulted in his childhood, appeared in a dream before Trisuli, and told him that it was the result of his misdeed in his childhood; but that, in view of his repentance, he would be rewarded with a child which he would find enclosed in a box. This child had a bull's face. He was an ardent devotee of Siva and was crowned as the head of the *Siva-Ganas*. He was married at Tirumalavadi, on the northern bank of the Kollidam (Coleroon) three miles away. After the wedding, he was taken in procession round seven temples, including Tiruvaiyaru as the hub of this group. The other centres are Tiruppalanam, Tiruchchorrutturai, Tiruvedigudi, Tirukkandiyur, Tiruppundurutti and Tillaisthanam. The annual celebration in memory of this event is known as the *Sapta Sthana* festival of Tiruvaiyaru, held in the month of *Chitrai* (April) which attracts a huge crowd from the surrounding villages.

[Continued on the next page]

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Tiruppalanam

Tiruppalanam is about two miles (3·22 km.) east of Tiruvaiyaru on the road to Kumbakonam, and one of the 'Sapta-sthana' temples linked with Tiruvaiyaru.

Appar and Sambandar (7th century A. D.) have worshipped this Lord and sung His praise. Appar also sings the praise of *Appudi Adigal*, another Tamil saint. This is a temple built of stone in the days of Aditya I.

All Rajakesari inscriptions ranging from his second year to his 26th year may be assigned to Aditya I, though the Government Epigraphist would, based on the nature of the script, assign one of his 12th year (167 of 1928) to Sundara Chola.

Aditya I himself is the donor according to an inscription of his second year (143 of 1928). The king is called *Solapperumanadigal Perunarkkilli Solar*. This identification is strengthened by the existence of a mutilated inscription of the 2nd year of a Rajakesarivarman (who should be Aditya I) found in the Svetaranyesvara temple at Tiruvenkadu which also mentions "*Perunarkkilli Solar*" (466 of 1918). The local inscription records a gift of 30 *kalanju* of gold for a perpetual lamp in the temple of Mahadeva at Tiruppalanam, a *devadana* in Nirai Kurram.

[Contd. from page 152]

There is yet another legend. It is believed that those who die here will automatically attain salvation. The life of a boy of this place devoted to Siva was taken away by *Yama* (Lord of Death) while engaged in Siva's worship. Then Siva killed Yama himself—reminiscent of the story of *Markandeya*. And on the intervention of the *devas*, not only the devotee but also Yama was restored to life on condition that he (Yama) should not molest those who died in this holy spot or within the range of the smoke arising from a pit where incense is ever burning to perpetuate the memory of this incident.

There is even now a pit in front of the outer southern gateway of this temple, and pious pilgrims are interested in keeping the incense burning night and day in the pit, whose guardian deity is called *Atkondar* (He who is won over by the Lord). This sculpture is housed in the western niche of the outer southern gopuram; it has all the features of a *dvarapala* and has in addition a huge figure of Yama shown as being crushed under his feet.

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In the 4th year, one Nakkan Karyan bought some land, reclaimed it and endowed the same for the maintenance of two gardeners who had been employed for the upkeep of two flower gardens given to the Mahadeva of Tiruppalanam by his father.

One Nandi Pangi of Tanjavur made a gift of 100 sheep for the maintenance of a lamp and for the supply of five *nali* of ghee for the sacred bath of the God on the *Tiruvadirai* day in *Margali* (December) and *Tiruvisagam* in *Masi* (February).

In the 17th year of the king (166 of 1928), the Chola queen Tennavan Mahadeviyar gave an endowment of 25 *kalanju* of gold for a lamp to the Mahadeva of Tiruppalanam, and the *sabha* of Tingalur received the amount and sold some land to the temple for the maintenance of the lamp. One of his 20th year makes provision for burning a lamp and for the supply of ghee for a bath to the Lord in the month of *Avani*.

In the 21st year, the king, called here *Ulaga Perumal*, made grants of land to twelve servants of the temple, two supervisors (*kankaattigal*) and two gardeners. Kadupattigal Tamaramettiyar, the mother of Vayiri Akkan *alias* Tribhuvana Madeviyar (the queen of Solapperumanadigal), gave a gift of twenty *kalanju* of gold for a lamp to the Mahadeva of this temple (161 of 1928). A gift of 30 *kalanju* of gold for a lamp was made in the 25th year of the king (170 of 1928) by Sembiyan Arkattu Velan alias Maravan Nakkan, the headman of Purisai in Parivandatturai, and an inscription of his 26th year (177 of 1928) records a gift of a gold necklace of *rudraksha* beads set with diamonds, rubies and sapphire for the God by Gangamarttanda *alias* Sembiyan Prithivi Gangaraiyar, son of Mahadevar of Pangala nadu.*

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* The same donor figures in an inscription of the 11th year of Parakesari Parantaka I (139 of 1928). Perhaps he was the brother of Alivin Kallarasi alias Sembiyan Bhuvani Gangaraiyar (139 of 1928; M. E. R., 1931, II, 8).

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Here are found inscriptions of Parantaka I from his third to his 35th year. Most of them concern gifts for lamps. Two inscriptions of Parakesarivarman though without any distinguishing epithets (116 of 1928 and 139 of 1928) may be assigned to Parantaka I. The first concerns an endowment for a lamp by Tennavan Madeviyar, queen of Rajakesarivarman (Aditya I), who should have survived her husband. And the other concerns a gift of 30 *kalanju* of gold for a lamp by Prithivi Gangaraiyan, son of Mahadeva, who figures in the inscription of the 26th year of Aditya I (177 of 1928).

In the 21st year of Parantaka I, an image of the Goddess was set up, and provision was made for a lamp (146 of 1928). The queen of Solap-Perumanadigal, Seya Bhuvana Chintamaniyar of *Kaverippumpattinam*, made a gift of 90 sheep for a lamp in the 28th year of the king (137 of 1928).

Two inscriptions of the 2nd year of Parakesarivarman without any distinguishing epithets may be assigned to Parakesari Arinjaya (162 and 172 of 1928), in both of which one Araiyan Adittan Viman of Kumanapadi made provision for offerings, lamp and the maintenance of five drummers.

An endowment for feeding four learned Brahmans was made in the second year of Parakesarivarman by a member of the *Arumolideva-terinja Kaikkolar;* perhaps, this is an inscription of the days of Uttama Chola, and the regiment might have been named after Arumolideva, the earlier name of Rajaraja I as heir apparent during the days of Uttama Chola.

An inscription of the 14th year of Rajaraja I mentions that one Kamban Maniyan *alias* Vikrama Singa Muvendavelan got an image of *marakata devar* (an emerald image) from the king out of the booty taken in the Malainadu campaign; and it was consecrated in the temple at Tiruppalanam.

This is a *dvitala* temple. Its *griva*, *sikhara* and *stupi* are four-sided. The *garbhagriha* is a square 24 feet 2 inches (7·37 m) side. There are *pancharas* on both sides of the

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three main niches on the outer walls of the *garbhagriha*. The figures of the *devakoshtas* are so much covered with stucco that the fine original figures could not be recognised. This is another instance of the modern unscientific approach in renovating ancient monuments. The central niches have two round pilasters close to the niche figure and two four-sided ones on the borders. The bracket has roll-ornament. There is a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice which is adorned with circles at the lower edges.

There is an *antarala* four feet (1·22 m.) wide connecting the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*. The latter extends 15 feet (4·57 m) forward (pls. 78-80).

Vedapurisvarar Temple

(Tiruvedikudi Mahadevar)

Tiruvedikudi

Tiruvedikudi is in the Tanjavur district on the banks of the river Kaveri about two miles and a half (4·02 km) east of Tirukkandiyur. It is one of the seven temples of the 'Saptasthana Kshetras' of the Tiruvaiyaru group. This temple is sung by the Tamil hymnists Appar and Sambandar. The deity is said to have been worshipped by the Vedas. Hence the name of the deity.

The temple has only about six inscriptions on its walls. Three of them relate to Rajakesarivarman (19th year, 67 of 1895; 25th year, 65 of 1895; and 69 of 1895) and all of them can be assigned to Aditya I as the characters of these inscriptions are archaic and are marked with *pullis* on consonants indicated by vertical strokes.

The earliest of these is of the 19th year of Rajakesarivarman, and it registers a gift of 10 *kalanju* of gold for a perpetual lamp to be burnt before the Mahadeva of Tiruvedikudi — a *devadana* and *brahmadeya* in Arkattuk-Kurram. The temple managers (*Tirukkoyiludaiyom*) of Tiruvedikudi pledged their own *archana bhoga* lands as security for the maintenance of this charity.

Some gold jewel (perhaps set with gems ?) weighing

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145 (*kalanju*) was presented to the Mahadeva of Tiruvedikudi by Malaiyan Kudi Malaiyan Kudan Korran in the 25th year of the king.

The inscription of the third year of Parakesarivarman (66 of 1895) may belong to *Parantaka I.* A gift of a lamp is made by a Pallava Chief (*Pallavarasan* — without his name) to the temple of Mahadeva of *Parakesaripuram* in Kilar - kurram. Perhaps, Tiruvedikudi was named *Parakesaripuram* in the days of Parantaka I.

An inscription of the 5th year of Rajakesarivarman has to be assigned to Rajaraja I as it mentions that, at the command of Rajaraja I, the officer enquiring into the state of affairs of the temple (*Sri karyam araikinra*) made provision for certain services out of the existing funds of the temple: 30 lamps with iron handles, supply of oil, maintenance of lamp-burners, cleaners of the temple premises, garland-makers, garden-servants, cooks of the temple-kitchen and the blower of *kalam.*

This is a temple of the days of Aditya I.

This is a *dvitala* structure with round *griva* and bulbous *sikhara.* The *garbhagriha* is a square 18 feet 7 inches (5·66 m.) side. The *ardhamandapa* extends further 15 feet (4·57 m.). Among the figures of the *devakoshtas,* only Durga, Brahma and Ardhanari should be considered those of the original temple. The pilasters bordering the niches are round in section and those at the ends are octagonal with cushion capital and brackets having roll-ornaments.

The cornice has semi-circular *kudus* and there is a *yali* frieze above it (pl. 81).

Odavanesvarar Temple

Tiruchchatturai (Tiruchchorrutturai)

Tiruchchatturai (Tiruchchorrutturai) lies about two miles (3·22 km) from Tiruvedikudi and is one of the temples of the "Tiruvaiyaru – *Saptasthana*" group. It was the home of the *rishi* Gautama-muni. Indra and Surya paid adoration to this Lord and gained their salvation. A Brahman

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named Arulalar did penance and got from the Lord the vessel of plenty (*akshaya patra*).

The Lord of this place has received the homage of the *devaram* hymnists; and this temple built of stone belongs to the period of Aditya I.

The earliest inscription of Rajakesarivarman that could be definitely attributed to Aditya I is one of the 13th year (163 of 1931), on the basis of the early character of the inscription and the use of the *pulli*. It records a gift of 90 sheep for a perpetual lamp by Nandi Pangi of Tanjavur. She also makes a similar gift in the same year (13th year) to the temple of Tiruppalanam (142 of 1928). One of the 14th year (with early palaeographical features and *pullis*) should be ascribed to him and it also concerns a gift for a lamp (188 of 1931). The next one, of his 17th year (149 of 1931), records a gift of 100 sheep for a perpetual lamp to Mahadeva at Tiruchchorrutturai by the Chola queen. The editor of the South Indian Inscriptions (Vol. XIII, "The Cholas", No. 280 and 149 of 1931) states in the text his opinion that this is probably "a record of *Sundara Chola*". I do not agree with this identification. The text of the inscription that he has published in the above Volume (p. 148 S. I. I. XIII — No. 280) reads :— "Solapperumanadigal deviyar *Kila*—" After this the text is mutilated and it should obviously read, if completed, only *Kilanadigal*. We know that *Kilanadigal* was a queen of Aditya I. So the inscription should belong to Aditya I, not to Sundara Chola. In the same year (17th year) one Gunavan Puttan (157 of 1931) made an endowment of 20 *kalanju* of gold for a lamp at Tiruppunturutti (103 of 1931) and another at Tillaisthanam (282 of 1911). In the 19th year, one Nakkan Adittan gave two conches and made provision for maintaining the blowers during the *Sri-bali* service of Mahadeva of Tiruchchorrutturai. An inscription of his 23rd year records an endowment of 25 *kalanju* for a lamp, and a damaged record of his 25th year concerns a gift of gold. Another damaged record of

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Aditya I's days (date lost : 180 of 1931) records a grant of 20 *kalanju* of gold for a perpetual lamp by the Chola queen *Tribhuvana Madevi Vayiri-yakkanar*, the daughter of *Kadupattigal Tamaramettiyar* (180 of 1931). The latter figures in an inscription of 23rd year of Rajakesarivarman (Aditya I) at Tiruppalanam (161 of 1928).

An inscription of the 2nd year of Parakesari (145 of 1931) mentions a gift of three lamps to *Agastisvara Mahadeva* at Tiruchchorrutturai. Perhaps this refers to the temple of *Tiruvalampolil*, a few miles off on the road to Sendalai.

A merchant of Nandipuram *alias* Ayirattali consecrates in the 11th year of Parakesari an image of the consort of the God Vitankar in the local temple. These records of Parakesari though without distinguishing epithets may be assigned to Parantaka I.

Parantaka's inscriptions range from his 11th to his 46th year. In the 11th year, the Chola queen *Tribhuvana Mahadeviyar* made a gift of 30 *pon* for a lamp on behalf of her mother Nankuttiyar. Another queen of Parantaka I made gifts of lamps in his 41st and 46th years (141 and 135 of 1930-31).

That Chola Mahadeviyar was one of the queens of Parantaka I is evident from a Tiruvaiyaru inscription of the 22nd year of *Madirai-Konda Parakesari* (169 of 1931). Her mother *Mullur Nangai* makes a gift of 30 *kalanju* of gold for a lamp in the 3rd year of Parakesari (169 of 1930-31). This record should belong to Parantaka I. In the same year she also makes gifts in other temples in the neighbourhood — Tillaisthanam (45 of 1895); Tiruppalanam (125 of 1895); and Tiruppunturutti (107 of 1931).

This is a *dvitala* temple of the days of Aditya I with square *griva*, *sikhara* and *stupi*. The *garbhagriha* is a square 18 feet (5·49 m) side. The *ardhamandapa* projects forward 7 feet 8 inches (2·34m). There are two *dvarapalas* at its entrance.

The pilasters are four-sided with cushion capitals. The bracket has roll-ornament with a central band. There is a

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bhutagana frieze below the cornice and a *yali* frieze above it. Circles adorn the edges of the cornice (*kodungai*).

The figures in the *devakoshtas* are all standing figures which could not be clearly distinguished. Old figures of the following *parivara devatas :* Saptamatrikas, Bhairava and Surya are found here.

Ghrita-sthanesvarar Temple (Neyyadiappar)
Rajakesari Makalattu Paramesvari (Kali temple)
Tirumerrali (Vishnu temple)

Tillaisthanam (Tiruneyttanam)

Tillaisthanam is about one mile (1·61 km.) west of Tiruvaiyaru on the northern bank of the Kaveri and on the road to the Grand Anciut. This is included in the Tiruvaiyaru – *Saptasthana* group of temples. Goddess Sarasvati is said to have worshipped the Lord of this place. In the past, there were three temples in this place — a Siva, a Kali and a Vishnu temple; the Siva temple alone has survived. The principal deity of this temple is called *Ghritasthanesvarar* whose Tamil equivalent is *Neyyadiappar*. Hymns on the Lord have been sung by Appar and Sambandar (7th century A. D.).

At the entrance to the central shrine there are two pre-Chola inscriptions. One records a gift of 60 *kalanju* of gold for a perpetual lamp by Nandivarman III in his tenth year (= A. D. 845); and the other refers to his Pandyan rival Maranjadaiyan Varaguna Maharaja II in whose fourth year (A. D. 866 circa) a gift of 420 *kasu* was made by three persons to the Mahadevar of Tiruneyttanam. Then we have the inscriptions of Aditya I. Thus we have here clear evidence of the transfer of power over this region from the Pallava to the Pandya and then to the Chola rulers.

Aditya I's inscriptions found here range from his 8th to his 17th year. In the 8th year of Rajakesari (38 of 1895), a gift of twenty *kalanju* of gold was made by Kannaradeva, son of Adittan, the Chola Perumanadigal — "*Solap-perumanadigal maganar Adittan Kannaradevan*". This

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Kannaradeva should have been a brother of Parantaka I. The *sabha* and the *urom* of this place received the gift and agreed to burn a lamp.

The Rajakesari inscriptions with high regnal years 11 to 17 may be ascribed to Aditya I (35, 36, 37, 39, 41 and 42 of 1895 and 282 of 1911). One of them refers to an enquiry into the affairs of this temple (*Sri Karyam*). Three persons — *Nagara Karanattan* (Accountant of the *nagaram* or merchant-guild), the writer of accounts (*Kanakku eludukinravan*), and another — were fined perhaps for some falsification of accounts and misappropriation of funds, and the amount thus collected (3 *kalanju* and odd) was utilized for making two forehead plates for the deity (35 of 1895; 11th year of Rajakesari — Aditya I).

The concubine (*bhogiyar*) Nangai Sattap Perumanar of Cholap-Perumanadigal gave thirty *kalanju* of gold for a lamp to the Mahadeva of Tiruneyttanam; and the *sabha* and the *urom* of Tiruneyttanam agreed to maintain the lamp out of the income of some temple-lands bought from the *sabha* of Perumpuliyur and utilized the gift amount towards the construction of the bathing hall (*namana mandapa*) for the God (36 of 1895 = 284 of 1911).

In the 17th year of Rajakesari (41 of 1895), *Kilanadigal*, the queen of Solapperumanadigal (Aditya I), gave a gift of 100 sheep for a perpetual lamp; and in the same year, another queen of Aditya I, Tennavan Madeviyar, made a gift of 20 *kalanju* of gold for a lamp (42 of 1895).

The most important of Aditya I's inscriptions is his undated inscription which mentions his conquest of Tondainadu (286 of 1911). This is the text :—

1. Svasti Sri Tondai-nadu-pavina Solan pal
2. yanaik-kokkandanayina *Rajakesari Padmana*
3. lum cheraman Kottanu Iraviyalum tavisum sa
4. maraiyum sivikaiyum timilaiyum koyilum ponaga
5. mum kalamum kalirru niraiyum Sembiyan tamil vel
6. ennum kulappiyarum perra Vikki Annan deviyana

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7. Kadamba Madevi Tiru-Neyttanattu Madevarkkoru—nandavilakki

8. nukku kudutta adu (nuru) Panmahesvara rakshai.

Both the Chola king who over-ran the Tondainadu and the Conqueror of kings with many elephants and the Chera king Sthanu Ravi conferred on Vikki Annan many honours including the privilege of having a feudatory throne and enjoying a fly whisk, palanquin, drum, mansion, sumptuary allowance, bugle, a corps of elephants and the title of *Sembiyan Tamil Vel*— perhaps in recognition of his meritorious services to the king in his military campaigns.

Parantaka I's inscriptions range from his 14th to his 35th year. Most of them concern gifts for lamps. One of his 24th year (25 of 1895), concerns a gift of 30 *kalanju* of gold (1 *kalanju* = 2 *kasu*) by *Parantakan Arikulakesari*, the son of Solapperumanadigal Sri Parakesarivarman (i. e., Parantaka I).

In the 10th year of Parakesari (Parantaka I or Uttama Chola ?), the royal officer enquiring into the affairs of the temples gave the right of collecting cess (*Angadikkuli*) in the village market to the *nagara variyam* and caused a lamp to be maintained in the temple.

An inscription of his 25th year (Parantaka I) is interesting in more ways than one (31 of 1895). Before the royal officer Bhavadaya Nakkanar, who enquired by a royal writ into the affairs of the temple in collaboration with the Committee of the *nagaram* (*Nagaravariyar*), fines were levied on defaulters, and this amount was utilized for making a forehead plate (*pattam*) and for provision for the celebration of the *Tiruvisagam* festival. Incidentally there is mention of the names of the various parts of the temple structure where the inscription was engraved — *ardhamandapa, namana-mandapa, uttiram, podigai, kandam, jagati, pattigari and kumudam.*

In the 27th year of Parantaka I, a gift for a lamp to the Mahadeva of Tiruneyttanam was made by a merchant of the *Manigramam*, a mercantile corporation of Adittapuram.

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A queen of Parantaka I, Mallisvarattu Nampirattiyar Tennavan Mahadeviyar *alias* Narayana Nangai Nangaiyar, made a gift of a lamp to this God in the 34th year of the king (44 of 1895).

Four inscriptions of Rajakesarivarman (all of the 3rd year:278 and 279 of 1911 and 24 and 24-A of 1895) may be ascribed to Gandaraditya, the son and successor of Parantaka I, because they mention gifts by persons belonging to the Kaikkola regiments named after the surnames of Parantaka I—*Samara Kesari* and *Vikrama Simha.*

One inscription of the 11th year of Rajakesari (283 of 1911) may belong to Sundara Chola. Three members of the *Nagarattar* community were fined by the royal officer investigating the affairs of the temple, and the amount of 14 *kalanju* of gold thus collected at the end of the enquiry was utilised for making two forehead plates to the deity. The name of one of the merchants is given as *Arinjigai Neyttanam*, named after a son of Parantaka I; so this may be assigned to Sundara Chola.

This is a *dvi-tala* temple with square *griva* and *sikhara.* It faces the east. The copper *stupi* is modern. The *garbhagriha* is a square 18 feet 6 inches (5·64 m) side; and the *ardhamandapa* extends 16 feet (4.88 m) forward. The pilasters are 6 feet 6 inches (1·98 m) high. Those by the side of the niches are round and those at the borders octagonal. The brackets have roll-ornament with a central band. There is a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice and a *yali* frieze above. The cornice is adorned with semi-circular *kudus* with a human head in the centre and with *kodikkarukku* at the edges. The figures of the *devakoshtas* are Siva (as Dakshinamurti in the south), Vishnu (west) and Brahma (standing and single-headed in the north). The *ardhamandapa* is supported by four octagonal pillars with cushion capital; and there are two *dvarapalas* at its entrance.

In the second *tala*, we have in the centre a *sala* with wagon roof pavilion crowned by *stupis* and at the ends square pancharas (*kutam*). Round the *griva,* four figures of

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Rishabha are placed and the niches of the *griva* have figures in them facing the cardinal points.

Pushpavanesvara Temple

Tiruppunturutti

Tiruppunturutti is about two miles (3·22 km) west of Tirukkandiyur on the road to the Grand Anicut. This is one of the temples of the Tiruvaiyaru *Saptasthana* group. Indra, Kasyapa Rishi, Markandeya, the Maruts and Surya are said to have paid their devotion to this Lord to gain salvation. Appar and Sambandar (7th Century) are said to have met here and worshipped the Lord; and Appar built a *Mutt* and resided for here sometime. These saints and Sundarar have sung hymns on this Lord.

Of the Rajakesari inscriptions, the earliest which could be ascribed to Aditya I is one of the eleventh year (300th day) as this is decidedly in early characters. It registers an endowment of 30 *kalanju* of gold for a perpetual lamp to be burnt in the temple of Mahadeva of Tirutturutti, a *devadana* village, by Nangai Solapperumanar, the mistress (*bhogiyar*) of Solapperumanadigal. (105 of 1930-31). She makes a similar gift to the temple of Tillaisthanam in the 14th year of the king (284 of 1911)

Another Rajakesari inscription of the 26th year (94 of 1931) could be assigned to Aditya I, both on account of its high regnal year and the early character of the script. One Kavidi Subrahmanyan of Pandinadu made a gift of a lamp-stand and an endowment of 25 *kalanju* of gold for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple of Mahadeva at Tirutturutti.

Two more Rajakesari inscriptions — whose dates are lost — can be assigned to Aditya I (102 and 103 of 1931). Both are in early characters. The first registers a gift of 25 *kalanju* for a perpetual lamp to the temple by one Gandharvan Bharadayan Singan Srikanthan. The second relates to a gift of gold for a lamp which the *sabha* of Tirutturutti agreed to maintain. The donor *Gunavan Puttan* should be the same as *Gunavan Puttandi* who figures in a

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Tillaisthanam inscription of the 17th year of Rajakesari Aditya I.

Parantaka I's inscriptions with his title of *madiraikonda* Parakesari range from his 11th to his 34th year. But some Parakesari inscriptions without this title can also be assigned to him. A third-year inscription of Parakesari (107 of 1931) mentions a gift of a lamp by *Mullur Nangai*, the mother of the Chola queen *Solamadeviyar*. That this Solamadeviyar was the queen of Parantaka I is evident from an inscription of the 22nd year of Madiraikonda Parakesari at Tiruvaiyaru (225 of 1894). The lady Mullur Nangai also makes gifts in the neighbouring temples of Tillaisthanam (45 of 1895 — 3rd year), Tiruchchorrutturai (169 of 1931—3rd year) and Tiruppalanam (125 of 1895—3rd year).

The *Sanivila* festival of the Goddess is mentioned in an inscription of the 4th year of Parakesari. An inscription of the 20th year of Parantaka I records a gift of land after purchase from the Assembly of Tirutturutti by *Kokkilan-adigal*, queen of Parantaka I, to maintain a lamp and provide for offerings to the image of *Trai-lokya-Sundara* (*Tripurasamhara*) set up in the temple in the form assuming which he burnt the three cities of the Asuras. In the 24th year, Pillaiyar Arikulakesariyar, son of Solap – Perumanadigal (= Parantaka I), makes an endowment of 40 *Ilakkasu* (Ceylon coin) for a lamp.

In the 33rd year of Parantaka I, Parakesari Muvendavelar alias Perumanpalli of Nerkuppai purchased land from the Assembly of Kuttangudi and presented it to the temple of Mahadeva here for feeding ten Brahmans during the time of midday offerings to the *silver* image of *Amara-ganayarchchitta*, which he had set up in the temple (75 of 1930-31).

There is a very interesting record of Rajakesarivarman which may be assigned to *Sundara Chola* (80 of 1931). The *sabha* of Tirutturutti imposed a fine on a local resident Narayanan Sri Madhavan of 72 and odd *kalanju* of gold.

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The provocation for the fine is not stated. The accused either absconded or fled away from the village. Thereupon, the Assembly decided to realise the fine (*Dandakanam*) not only by confiscating the land of the defaulter and his surety but by compelling his two brothers to make good the amount; so the brothers were forced to sell their own lands to the temple. The sale deed by the brothers in favour of *Chandesvara* (the agent of Siva in all transactions) i. e., to the temple, forms the first part of the inscription. The second part relates to the appeal by the affected brothers and the royal order thereon. The brothers in their appeal to the king pointed out that the decision of the *sabha* was unjust and high-handed. After a full enquiry, the king reversed the order of the *sabha* and issued a *Tiru-mukham* (or *Srimukham* — a royal order) to restore the lands to the innocent brothers. This was accordingly done. Justice thus stood vindicated and no wonder Sundara Chola was considered a *second Manu.*

This temple is an *ekatala prasada.* The *garbhagriha* is a square 20 feet (6·10 m) side. There are three *devakoshtas* supported by two short pilasters close to the niche and two tall pilasters on the outer edge. There are two more at the edges of the walls.

Below the cornice, there is a *bhutagana* frieze and above it a *yali* frieze. The *griva* is surmounted by a semi-circular *sikhara.*

The figures in the *devakoshtas* are *Bhikshatana* in the north, *Ardhanari* in the west and *Vinadhara Dakshinamurti* in the south.

The *ardhamandapa* measures 16 feet (4·88 m) by 16 feet. There are two *dvarapalas* at the entrance to this *mandapa.* There are *lion-pillars* supporting it.

The *mukhamandapa* is about 30 feet (9·14 m) square and it is supported by four pillars with bulbous capital.*

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* In *Lalit Kala* No. 5, P. R. Srinivasan gives a brief account of this temple and of *Tiruvalam-polil*, which he wrongly calls another *sapta-sthana kshetra.*

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Tiruvilakkudi

Tiruvilakkudi, situated on the northern bank of the Kaveri, was, in ancient times, called Tiru-mana-velvik-kudi or Tiruvelvikkudi. According to the local legends, a prince could not wed the maiden of his choice. He did penance and paid his devotion to the Lord of this place. And he attained his object through the intervention of the Lord. Hence the name of this village *Mana-velvik-kudi* (the place of the wedding-penance). This temple is celebrated by Sambandar and Sundarar in their hymns.

Tiruvelvikkudi is coupled with Tirutturutti (Kurralam) in the *devaram* hymns of Sambandar and Sundarar. So the temple must have been in existence at least as a brick structure in the 7th century A.D. It is likely to have been rebuilt of stone in the days of Aditya I, and it bears inscriptions dating from his days to those of Rajaraja III.

There are six inscriptions of Rajakesarivarman without distinguishing epithets. Two of them are mutilated, and their date is lost. One, on the south wall, records a gift of 90 sheep for a lamp (132 of 1926 : SII. XIII, 345). The other records the gift of a gong; the village is called Tiruvelvikkudi therein, and is said to form part of Videlvidugu Chaturvedimangalam (A. R. No. 133 of 1926 : SII. XIII, 346). There is another inscription, of the 15th year of a Kovirajakesarivarman (on the south wall of the central shrine), which mentions a gift of 96 sheep for burning a perpetual lamp to Tiruvelvikkudi Alvar by two sons of a merchant of the place for the merit of their father (A. R. No. 111 of 1926 : SII, XIII, No. 258). This at least, if not all three, might be attributable to the time of Aditya I.

As the temple was renovated in the days of Uttama Chola, we are not sure if these three inscriptions are originals or copies of earlier ones re-engraved after renovation.

The Rajakesari inscriptions from the 3rd year to the 16th year, especially, those with high regnal years 15 and 16

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may be credited to Aditya I or Sundara Chola. In the earlier inscriptions, this place is called *Murugavel mangalam*, a *brahmadeya* in Kurukkainadu on the northern bank of the Kaveri, and the deity, *Mangala Nakkar*. They mention a gift of land for the maintenance of three musicians during the *Sri-bali* service ("Sri-bali kotti kalam uda irandalukkum sekandigai kotta oralukkum"). One of the two pieces of land and the house-site so gifted by the *sabha* was the property of two brothers which escheated to the *sabha* on failure of heirs (116 of 1926). Later on, the deity is called the *devar* of *Naduvil Sri-Koyil* and Tiruvelvikkudi-Alvar or Udaiyar. An inscription of the 16th year of Rajakesari (134 of 1926) states that the temple authorities mortgaged the temple lands and received 16 *kalanju* of gold from a maid servant (*pendatti*) of the queen (Udaiya Pirattiyar). One of the temple authorities is named *Aditya Pidaran*. It is probable that this inscription belongs to the days of either Aditya I or Sundara Chola.

There are a number of Parakesari inscriptions ranging from the 2nd to the 14th year. We are not certain if any of them could be assigned to Parantaka I but most of them may belong to Uttama Chola.

This place is said to have formed part of *Videlvidugu* (a Pallava surname)–*chaturvedimangalam*, the old name of Kadalangudi, a *brahmadeya* in Nellarrur (or Kurukkai) –nadu. A member of the *Karikala Solat-terinja kaikkolar* paid 50 *kasu* and got exemption from tax on a piece of land belonging to the temple. In the 6th year of Parakesari-varman, one *Edutta-pada Mutta Setti*, a member of the mercantile corporation called the *Nanadesis* engaged in inland and overseas trade, made a gift of lamp to Kuttapperumal (Nataraja) — perhaps a metal image — in the temple. In the 6th year of Parakesari, likely to be Uttama Chola, Sembiyan Mahadevi made a gift of a silver pitcher (*kalasam*) weighing 142 *kalanju* to Tiruvelvikkudi Alvar (128 of 1926).

One Ayyan Marasingan alias Virasekhara Muvenda

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Velan figures as a great donor. He gifted lands for a lamp and for bringing water (from the Kaveri) for the sacred bath of the deity and a silver vessel weighing 30 *Ilakkasu* to supply water to the God during worship. There is also a reference to one Sri Karana Pichchan who made an endowment for burning a lamp before the deity of Vighnesvara.

In the days of Rajendra I, this place is said to have been included in Gangaikondasola chaturvedimangalam, and provision is made for offerings to Tiruvarur – Nambiyar (Sundarar) set up in the temple by a member of the *Alunganam* of the village. The same record mentions an endowment for the midnight service to the stone image of *Kshetrapaladevar* set up in the 27th year of the king's predecessor (Rajaraja I).

Kadalangudi on the opposite bank of the river is called Videlvidugu Chaturvedimangalam. Perhaps the two villages had a common administrative body and had powers of control over the affairs of the temple.

In the 7th year of Rajendra I, a lady made a grant to provide offerings to *Linga Purnadeva* (*Lingodbhva*). The Assembly of Kadalangudi received a grant of land as *sala-bhoga* for maintaining a feeding house to feed devotees and to supply red lilies to the God.

An inscription of the 19th year of Parakesari (Rajendra II) mentions the consecration of *Periya devar* and his consort in the temple of Manavala Nambi. These images seem to have been carried away and deposited in the temple of Tiruchchattimurram by the followers of one Vanakovaraiyan in the troubled period of Rajaraja III (A. D. 1221). And one Tondaiman is said to have traced them back and had these images re-consecrated here in the year A. D. 1233

Another interesting feature of this temple is the donation by individual donors of *images*, *stones*, *door-posts* or *parts* of the structure of the temple and the engraving of their names on stones. (Vide 109, 110, 122, 126, 127, 129, 131, 138, 139, 142, 148, 149, 151 of 1926). One inscription mentions that the structure up to *kal-padai* and fourteen

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stones in *tadip-padai* were constructed by Tiruvaiyarru Yogi (129 and 139 of 1916). One-fourth of the temple is said to have been raised by the members of the *Valanjiyar* and the *Tisai-Ayirattu-Ainnurruvar*, two mercantile communities (131 of 1926). The door-post was the gift of a member of *Tinaik-kalam* (150 of 1926). The image of Dakshinamurti was installed by another person (129 of 1926). Three stones near the *dvarapala* image were the gifts of three members of the Gandaraditta Terinja Kaikkolars (148 of 1926). There is mention of the installation of the *dvarapala* Mahakalam by another (149 of 1926).

The figures of the *devakoshtas* are Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhava and Brahma on the walls of the *garbhagriha*, and Agastya, Nataraja, Ganapati, Chandesanugrahamurti, Durga and Bhikshatana on the walls of the *ardhamandapa* (Vide "Early Chola Bronzes" by Douglas Barrett. Bhulabhai Memorial Institute. Bombay. pp. 21-22).

Sivayoganathasvamin Temple

Tiruvisalur (Vembarrur or Veppattur)

Tiruvisalur has an ancient temple which goes back to the days of Aditya I. Purvadeviyar, the mother of Madevadigal, makes gifts in the 12th and 17th years of Rajakesarivarman to the Perumanadigal of Tiruvisalur (335 and 333 of 1907, SII. XIII, Nos. 221 and 271), and the Epigraphist assigns them to Sundara Chola. On account of the high regnal year of the latter, I am disposed to assign both to Aditya I. There is another record (5 of 1907) of Rajakesarivarman whose date is given as third year in words but the numeral 20 is inserted above it. It should therefore be taken as a record of the 23rd year and assigned to Aditya I. It records a tax-free gift of land at Mangalakkudi by a Vellala named Nakkapiran for providing offerings at the midnight service (*ardhajama*) to the Perumanadigal at Tiruvisalur, a part of *Amaninarayana chaturvedimangalam* (after a surname of Nandivarman III). Thus the temple of Tiruvisalur goes back to a period sometime prior to the

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12th year of Aditya I (SII. XIII, Nos. 300, 221 and 271).

The inscriptions of Parantaka I range from his 3rd to his 41st year; most of them concern gifts for lamps. His third-year inscription records the gift of a lamp by a member of the retinue (*parivaram*) of Kamaniyakkanar to the Perumanadigal of Tiruvisalur alias Amaninarayana chaturvedimangalam, a *devadana* and *brahmadeya* on the north bank of the Kaveri. In the 27th year of Parantaka I, provision is made for supplying this God with bathing water from the Kaveri, and the deity is called Tiruvisalur Madeva Bhatarar at Avani-narayana chaturvedimangalam alias Vembarrur. Tiruvisalur gets the alternate name of Vembarrur.

As in the case of the neighbouring village *Tiruk-Kalittattai*, the deity of this village receives large endowments from Siriyavelar, the General of Sundarachola — Parantaka II. In the 2nd year of Rajakesari (= Sundara chola), he makes a grant of land by paying 50 *kalanju* making it tax-free for feeding sumptuously a learned Brahman. The donor is called Pirantakan Irungolan alias Siriyavelar of Kodumbalur (317 of 1907). In the 4th year of the same king, he donates land after paying 130 *Ilakkasu* for tax-exemption and provides for midday offerings to the Perumanadigal of Tiruvisalur (320 of 1907). There is a Sanskrit inscription which states that "king Siriya Velar", as he is called, "was the light of the Irungola family — *Irungola-kula-pradipa*, the foremost member in the family of the daughter of (King) Parantaka". This is perhaps a reference to the matrimonial alliance of the Cholas with the Irukkuvels of Kodumbalur. In the fifth year of Sundara Chola, he gave for repairs to the temple the income from the village of Nimba (=Veppattur) payable to the king and also donated a lamp to Siva dwelling in *Sri Visalura* (Tiru-visalur) in the virtuous village named *Nimba Agrahara* (Veppattur or Vembarrur—40 of 1907).

The next important record is one of the 5th year of Parakesari who took the head of the Pandya — Aditya II Karikala. It records a gift of gold for a lamp to Tiruvisalur

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Perumanadigal.

Udaiya Pirattiyar Sembiyan Mahadeviyar, the mother of Uttama Chola, presented a sacred gold *Kolgai* (a covering over the *Linga*) to the God. It was made of 355 *kalanju* of gold, and set with a ruby, and diamonds weighing 4173 (*kalanju* ?) — (28 of 1907, SII. III, 3,148).

Another land gift is made by this royal lady in the third year of Rajakesari (Rajaraja I). An inscription of the 24th year of Rajaraja I records a gift of land for offerings at the shrine of *Pichchadevar* (Bhikshatana devar).

In the 29th year of Rajaraja I, the grandest celebration in the annals of this place look place. He performed a *Tulabhara* in this temple, and his queen Dantisakti Vitankiyar *alias* Lokamadeviyar, *Hemagarbha*. The village called is Vembarrur *alias* Solamarttanda chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeya* in Manninadu included in Rajendra Simha Valanadu.

An inscription of the third year of Rajendra I records the building of the *Tiruchchurralayam* (wall of enclosure) and the *gopura* (341 of 1907): perhaps they were completed in the days of Vikrama Chola (52 of 1907).

Pirantakan Kundavai Pirattiyar, the aunt of Rajendra I residing at the palace of *Palaiyaru* near Kumbakonam, makes a gift in the fourth year of this king.

There is in this temple a sculpture of *Ananta Siva*, the builder of the temple.

The present temple seems to be of the days of Parantaka I, but it has also been renovated since then. The *garbhagriha* is a square 19 feet 4 inches (5.89 m) side. The basement has a *yali*-frieze and a lotus-moulding. The *ardhamandapa* extends 12 feet 4 inches (3·76 m) further up.

There is a shrine to the south of the present main shrine, now used as a store-room. This seems to be an Early Chola shrine of the days of Aditya I. It has *devakoshtas*, and in the eastern niche, there is a sculpture of *Vinadhara Dakshinamurti*.

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Tiruvidaimarudur (Tiruvidaimarudil)

Tiruvidaimarudur near Kumbakonam is a railway station on the main line from Madras to Dhanushkodi. Its temple is considered one of the most sacred of South Indian temples. The sacred tree of this temple (*Sthala Vrksha*) is *Marudu*. Among three such temples having this sacred tree, this is the middle one. Hence its name *Tiru-Idai-Marudil*. This temple is said to lie midway between Sri Sailam (Kurnool district in Andhra Pradesh) and Tiruppudai-marudur in Tirunelveli district. By worshipping the Lord of this place, both a Chola prince and a Pandya king Varaguna are believed to have been freed from the sin of having killed a Brahman (*Brahma-hatti-dosha*) and escaped from the clutches of *Saturn*. There is a sculpture of a Chola king in distress in the eastern tower of this temple.

The old Chola temple renovated in the days of Uttama Chola has been completely demolished, and a new structure has been erected by the Nagarattar community. Fortunately most of the old inscriptions had been copied by the Epigraphical Department in 1895 and 1907. The oldest of them were found on the walls of the central shrine and they belong to the early Chola kings.

One of the 16th year of Rajakesarivarman on the south wall of the original sanctum concerns a gift of 90 sheep for a lamp to the *Mulasthanattup Perumanadigal* of Tiruvidaimarudil in Tiraimur-nadu (148 of 1895). From the high regnal year and its position on the wall of the central shrine of the old temple, it can be assigned to Aditya I.

There were four inscriptions of Parantaka I; one of his 16th year (146 of 1895) mentions a gift of 15 *kalanju* of gold for the supply of 30 *nali* of ghee on the day of the asterism of *Tiruvadirai* in the month of *Margali* (December) by a person from Tondainadu. Another of his 27th year (157 of 1895) registers a gift of three-fourths of a *veli of* land (*nilam*) to a person playing on *Udukkai*. The Tiraimur *sabha*, the *nagaram* of Tiruvidaimarudil, the managing

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committee of the temple (*Tirukkoyil Udaiyar*), the temple priests (*Padi--padamulattar*) and the royal officer enquiring into the temple affairs (*Sri-Kariyam-araikinra*) met in the *Nataka-Salai* of the temple and sanctioned the grant. In the 35th year of Parantaka I, one Irumudi-Solappallava-raiyan bought from the Tiraimur *sabha* and the *nagaram* of Tiruvidaimarudil fourteen *velis* of land and made provision for various services — offerings of sweet-pudding, sandal, lamps, the maintenance of the priest and the feeding of Brahmans.

An inscription of the fourth year of Parakesarivarman who took the head of the Pandya king, Aditya II (154 of 1895), makes provision for the performance of *Aryakkuttu* (a kind of dance) on seven days. The royal officer supervising the affairs of the temple — *Srikariyam Araikinra Adikarigal* — Sirringan Udaiyan Koyil Mayilai *alias* Parantaka Muvendavelan, the *sabhai* of Tiraimur, the *nagaram* (mercantile corporation) of Tiruvidaimarudil, and the *devakanmis* (temple-trustees) met in the hall of dance (*Nataka salai*), and having received the order (of the king?) they decided that seven dance recitals (of *Ariyak-kuttu*) be conducted and that each of the actors was to receive fourteen *kalams* of paddy. Another inscription of the same ruler (214 of 1907 — 4th year, 170th day) mentions that the same royal officer enquired into the affairs of the temple endowments and the scale of expenses then in vogue in the temple. On finding that there were irregularities, the officer ordered the removal of the defects and adopted a higher scale of expenses in view of the increased income available for the temple. There is an inscription of the 17th year of Rajakesarivarman (216 of 1907, SII. XIII, 270) which mentions that *Parantaka Muvendavelan*, a royal officer, enquired into the affairs of this temple (*arachiyil*) along with the *sabhai* and the *ur* of Tiraimur, the *nagaram* of Tiruvidaimarudil, and the *devakanmis*, and found that ten *ma* of land had been in possession of certain gardeners without any title. So they were resumed. And one-fourth

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sey of land was given to each of two persons for raising a jasmine garden. The Government Epigraphist holds that it is very probably an inscription of *Sundara Chola Parantaka* II. It may be so.

There is another important inscription of the 4th year 325th day of Parakesarivarman who should be identified with *Uttama Chola*. The *sabhai* of Tiraimur, the *nagaram* of Tiruvidaimarudil, the trustees of the temple (*Tirukkoyil udaiyar*), the accountant of the temple (*devar kanakku*), and the royal officer supervising and regulating the temple affairs met in the *Nataka Salai* (hall of dance) and enquired into the endowments for lamps maintained from the interest thereof. Incidentally it mentions that all the inscribed documentary stones relating to such endowments were kept in underground cellars prior to the renovation of the temple in stone, and they were ordered to be re-engraved on the stone walls of the renovated temple. On examination, the omission of an endowment of 60 *kalanju* of gold by Kaduvettigal Nandi-pottaraiyan was noticed and this grant was ordered to be re-engraved (SII. III, 3,124).

The Assembly of a Brahman village was called a *sabhai* and the affairs of such a village were administered by a body of their elected representatives. *Nagaram* was a mercantile corporation, and its affairs were managed by the elected representatives of the local merchants. When a *nagaram* and a *sabha* were in close proximity, as in this case, and had common problems to solve, they met in joint sessions, and after mature deliberation, settled them. There are several recorded cases of such common deliberations in other places as well.

Invariably, the affairs of this temple were conducted both by the *sabhai* of Tiraimur and the *nagaram* of Tiruvidaimarudil, helped by the trustees of the temple. The vigilance of local bodies in financial administration, and the supervision of their affairs by royal officers to prevent mismanagement and misappropriation of the public funds are laudable features full of lessons for

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modern administrators in India.

Another noteworthy feature that deserves our warm appreciation is the practice of preserving inscribed stones of endowments in cellars of temples during the period of renovation, and the re-engraving of the inscriptions after renovation. It greatly redounds to the historical sense of the people of those times, and to their high sense of duty and responsibility in managing public affairs.

Miladudaiyar Palli (Jain)
Naganathasvamin (Siva)
Uppiliyappan (Vishnu) (Tiru-Vinnagar)

Tirunagesvaram

Tirunagesvaram is close to Kumbakonam and is also a railway station on the Southern Railway. The Jain temple has disappeared, and the two other temples have lost their original character on account of later renovation.

A Jain palli

On a pillar lying in a *mandapa* at the end of the street in front of the local Siva temple, there is an inscription of the second year of Rajakesarivarman which could on paleographical grounds be assigned to Aditya I (222 of 1911). This mentions the provision made by the *nagaram* for the renovation (*pudukkuppuram*) of the *gopuram* (tower), the *tiruchchurru-alai* (enclosed verandah) round the main shrine of *Miladudaiyar palli* — perhaps a Jain temple at *Kumaramarttandapuram* (named after Nandivarman II), a suburb of Tirunagesvaram.

Nagesvara (Siva) Temple

An inscription of the 9th year of Rajakesari which has to be assigned perhaps to Sundara Chola mentions *Arinjigai-Pirattiyar*, a Bana queen and the daughter of *Prince Arikulakesari*, i.e., Arinjaya, son of Parantaka I (215 of 1911). This lady's endowments to Tirunagesvaram Udaiya Mahadeva are referred to in an inscription of the 14th year of Rajaraja I (81 of 1897 and 218 of 1911).

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A fragmentary *grantha* inscription on the south wall refers to the construction of the temple (*harmya*) of Naga. The mention of Madurantaka, his mother, his two queens and Gandaraditya makes us infer that it was built perhaps for the merit of Gandaraditya by his son Madurantaka Uttama Chola (219 of 1911) rather than by Gandaraditya himself.

In an inscription of Rajendra I (14th year, 213 of 1911), this temple is called that of *Tirunagesvaram Udaiya Mahadeva* in *Tiruk-kuda-mukku* (Kumbakonam) in Pamburnadu included in Uyyakkondan Valanadu.

A processional image called *Pasupata-deva* is mentioned in another inscription of Rajendra I.

The Nagesvara (Siva) temple faces the east. It is an *eka-tala* structure, with a bulbous *sikhara*.

The *garbhagriha* is a square 14 feet 6 inches (4·42 m) side and the *ardhamandapa* extends 12 feet 6 inches (3·81 m) forward. These two parts are connected by an *antarala* 4 feet 3 inches (1·30 m) wide.

There are *devakoshtas* enshrining Ganapati, Nataraja, Agastya, Dakshinamurti, Lingodbhava, Brahma, Ardhanari, Durga and Bhikshatana — a feature of the temples of Uttama Chola's days (Sembiyan Mahadevi style). There is a *makara-torana* over each *devakoshta*.

This early Chola temple must have been renovated in the days of Uttama Chola; and this is confirmed by the fragmentary *grantha* inscription inscribed on the south wall (219 of 1911). Similar renovations can be seen at Karuntattangudi (Karandai) and Tiruppurambiyam.

The Vishnu Temple

The Vishnu temple of Tiru-vinnagar of Tirunagesvaram — modern Uppiliyappan temple — is mentioned in an inscription of the sixth year of Rajendra I, which records the presentation of a gold jewel worked in gems and pearls, made out of the accumulated income of a piece of land, presented by a junior elephant *mahout* in the army of

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Rajendra Chola I.

This temple is considered as sacred as Tirupati and this place is taken to be the home of Gopala Desika, the founder of the *Munitraya* cult of Sri Vaishnavism, who is considered to be an *avatar* of Uppiliyappar.

Arunajatesvara (Senjadaiyappar) Temple or Tiruttatakai Isvaram

Tiruppanandal

Tiruppanandal is eleven miles (17.70 km) north-east of Kumbakonam on the road to the Lower Anicut. It is now famous as the centre of a great Saivite *mutt* founded in 1720 by Tillai Nayaka Tambiran, a disciple of the central *mutt* of Dharmapuram. The Head of the *mutt* is a great patron of Saiva Siddhanta and Tamil literature.

The sacred tree of this temple is the palmyra tree. Hence its name *Tiruppanandal* or Talavanam. A female Asuri-devotee, Tatakai by name, is said to have adored the Lord and adorned Him every day with garlands. So the temple is also called *Tiruttatakai Isvaram.* Sambandar and Appar have sung the glory of the Lord of this place.

On the south entrance to this temple, there is an inscription of the 18th year of Rajakesarivarman (30 of 1914). It refers to the gift of a lamp to the temple of *Tiruttatakai Isvarattu-Mahadeva* (*Bhattarar*) at Tiruppanandal, a *devadana* in Vadagarai Manni Nadu. This may be ascribed to Aditya I (9th century A. D.)

There are two inscriptions of the 29th year of Parantaka I (Madiraikonda Parakesari — 32 and 33 of 1914) which make provision for a lamp and offerings to the same deity Tiruttatakai-Isvarattu Mahadeva.

A metallic image of Kshetrapala-deva was consecrated by Rajarajakkal Tiruppamarayan (34 of 1914).

One of the Saiva saints associated with this place is *Kungiliyak-kalaya Nayanar* (one of the 63 Tamil saints) of Tirukkadavur, who served the Lord by burning incense before Him. This saint led a life of self-denial and self-

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sacrifice. His wife was driven to despair by her poverty and she parted even with her *wedding-jewel* (*Tali* or Tiru-mangalyam) to maintain the family, but the saint bought incense, and not rice, with it and served his Lord with such a single-minded devotion. So pleased was the Lord that He raised for His devotee a mansion filled with plenty, as in the epic story of Kuchela blessed by Sri Krishna. This miracle is said to have been wrought here.

There is yet another miracle attributed to this place. The Lord had turned His face to one side to save Tataka's sense of modesty, while accepting the garland offered by her. The king's efforts to restore the Lord to His original posture failed. Where the king failed, the saint succeeded. Kungiliyak-kalaya Nayanar by his devoted effort carried out the impossible.

An inscription of the 12th century (eighth year of Kulottunga III = A. D. 1185) concerns gifts for offerings to the images of Tirukkadavur Kungiliyak-kalaya Nayanar and other Saiva saints.

The temple faces the west. The *garbhagriha* is a square 21 feet 10 inches (6.65 m) side. It is said to be in the shape of *Omkara*. There is a *kumbha-panchara* on each side of the central *devakoshta*. There is a *yali* frieze above the *kumudam*-moulding of the basement. The pilasters are octagonal in section and have cushion capitals. The *ardhamandapa* projects forward 11 feet (3.35 m) and there are two *dvarapalas* at its entrance. There are gateways next to the *ardhamandapa*.

The present structure of the temple seems to belong to the days of Parantaka I.

Matsyapurisvara Temple
(Tiruchchelur Paramesvara)
Bhumi-Sundara Vinnagar
(at Kanjanur *alias* Simhavishnu-Chaturvedimangalam)

Koyil-Tevarayan Pettai

Koyil Tevarayanpettai is a hamlet of Pandaravadai in Tanjavur district, a railway station on the Southern

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Railway. It has an ancient temple going back to the days of Aditya I. In the earliest inscriptions found here, this place is called *Rajakesari Chaturvedimangalam*, evidently after Aditya I. The present hamlet of *Rajagiri*, now a strong Muslim centre, is a vestige of the old name of Rajakesari-chaturvedimangalam.

An inscription of the 38th year of Parantaka I (270 of 1923) mentions a gift in the 17th year of Rajakesarivarman. This Rajakesari should be none other than Aditya I, and this temple should have come into existence in the days of Aditya I. The deity is called *Tiruchchelur Paramesvara.*

There is another inscription of the 17th year of Rajakesarivarman (230 of 1923) which records an agreement given by three servants of the temple to supply ghee for a perpetual lamp and for the provision of paddy for persons bringing water from the Kaveri for the sacred bath of the deity, in return for various gifts of sheep, cows and money received previously. This is a record probably of Sundara Chola. The inaccuracy in the name of the *ruler* and the absence of a chronological sequence of the rulers cited in the text are real obstacles to the proper understanding of the course of events narrated in this record. After starting with the 17th year of *Rajakesari*, whom we have identified with Sundara Chola, there is mention of the 17th year of *Kodanamarayar*, then the 17th year of *Rajakesari* and the 19th year of *Madiraikonda Marayar*. The editor of the South Indian Inscriptions (SII. XIII, 277) holds that the reading *Kodanamarayar* is meant evidently for *Madiraikonda-marayar* and the 19th year of *Madiraikonda Marayar* should refer to Sundara Chola himself, and he is faced with the consequent difficulty that a grant of the king's 19th year is quoted in a record of his 17th year and so he remarks:—"It is however not known that he had a reign of 19 years; neither is it clear how that later regnal year could be referred to here except by some mistake." It seems to me that there is a way of explaining it to make

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some sense. The first record cites the 17th year of *Kodana-marayar*. This term as it is makes no sense and can be taken as Kodandamarayar which is a surname of Aditya I, instead of as *Madiraikonda marayar* as the Editor suggests. This is a better emendation than the one proposed by the editor. The third item of the 19th year of *Maidiraikonda Marayar* might be assigned to Parantaka I because he had this title to his credit instead of to *Sundara* which causes the confusion of the 19th year grant being quoted in a 17th year record. Thus interpreted, the position willl be that in an inscription of the 17th year of Rajakesari who is likely to be Sundara Chola, there are quoted *two* grants of Aditya I, first one of the 17th year of *Kodandarama*, and another of the 17th year of *Rajakesari*, and both of them can be assigned to Aditya I. The third one of the 19th year of Madiraikonda Marayar relates to a grant of *Parantaka I.* According to this interpretation, the chronological difficulty is solved. In any event, the existence of this temple and a grant to it in the days of Aditya I are established.

Out of the eleven inscriptions of *Rajakesari* (unidentified), one of his third year (268 of 1923) mentions *Aditya Vaykkal* which is significant.

We are not sure if any of the eleven inscriptions of Parakesarivarman without distinguishing epithets could be attributed to Parantaka I. There are inscriptions of Parantaka I with his usual title of Madiraikonda, of his 37th and 38th years.

One of them concerns a gift of land after purchase, for midday offerings and for a pot of water daily from the river for the sacred bath to the image of *Rishabhavahana Perumal.* Another is for the sounding of a trumpet (*sandaikodikalam*) and a conch during the midnight offerings (265, 273, 277, 270 of 1923).*

* There is an inscription of "Parakesarivarman alias Tribhuvana Chakravartin Parantakadeva" with a new introduction "*Pumangai Valara*",

(Contd. on page 182)

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There are a few inscriptions of a Rajakesarivarman which could be assigned to Sundara Chola—one of his seventh year refers to a gift of six *ma* of land for burning two perpetual lamps in this temple by a native of Kurramangalam (234 of 1923). Another of his 14th year by the same donor refers to a gift of 20 *karunkasu*, and the annual interest of three *kasu* on this endowment was to be awarded to the best reciter of certain prescribed portions of the *Jaiminiya Sama Veda* on the night of the *Ardra* festival in the month of *Margali* (December) after the sacred bath of the deity. It was stipulated that no prize-winner should compete a second time (266 of 1923).

A Vishnu temple seems to have been built in the days of Sundara Chola at Simhavishnu Chaturvedimangalam *alias* Kanjanur, a neighbouring village. An inscription of the sixth year of Rajakesari (Sundara Chola, 232 of 1923) mentions the gift of a village called Kandamangalam, made tax-free by the paymant of 200 *pon* to the Assembly of Simhavishnu Chaturvedimangalm (*alias* Kanjanur) to the Vishnu temple of *Bhuvani Sundara Vinnagar Parameswarar* built by him and named after the donor Kannandai Arivanan Bhuvani Sundaran *alias* Sundara Chola Muvendavelan, a native of Tondainadu. There are five inscriptions of Parakesarivarman who took the head of the Pandya, Aditya II Karikala; one of these, of his fifth year, concerns a gift of money by a resident of Manoramacheri for offerings to the image of Ganapati Bhattarar in the temple on the day of *Ardra* in *Margali* (275 of 1923).

A few Parakesari inscriptions—unspecified—can be attributed to Uttama Chola; one of his seventh year concerns a gift for twilight offerings and for bringing four pots of

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(Foot-note contd. from p. 181)

which is merely eulogistic and without any historical value (9th year—261 of 1923). There are two other inscriptions of this prince—No. 16 of 1896 SII. V. No. 879 Tiruvalangadu; and 9th year from Tiruvadatturai, 225 of 1928-29. These records do not belong to Parantaka I, but to a later prince of the Chola House who served as heir apparent during the later period of the reign of Kulottunga Chola I—(vide p. 165, Note, of "The Colas" by K. A. N. Sastri and Epigraphia Indica XXXII Pt. V — No. 22).

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water, for the sacred bath of the God, from the river Kuralai—perhaps the old name of the *Kudamurutti*, a branch of the Kaveri flowing by the side of the village.

An inscription of the 9th year of Parakesari can be definitely assigned to Uttama Chola (250 of 1923). It records a grant of land for the expenses of the sacred bath and worship and offerings on all the *Sankranti* days and for supplying 108 pots of water for the sacred bath of the deity, by the Queen-mother Sembiyan Mahadeviyar on behalf of Uttama Chola. The same queen Sembiyan Mahadevi makes a gift of a silver plate and a bronze stand in the 9th year of Rajaraja I (262 of 1923) and a gift of a gold pot in his 12th year (263 of 1923).

In the 16th year of Rajaraja I, there is a reference to a hamlet of the village called *Pandita-Vatsalachcheri* and a resident of this *cheri* makes a gift of gold ornaments to the image of the Consort of *Rishabhavahana Perumal.*

In the days of Rajendra I, another great Chola princess, *Alvar Sri Parantakan Sri Kundavai Pirattiyar*, the elder sister of Rajaraja I and the aunt of Rajendra I, bought some land and a house-site from the *mahasabha* of Rajakesari Chaturvedimangalam for the maintenance of a free Ayurvedic dispensary founded by her at Tanjavur called *Sundara Sola Vinnagar Atular Salai* in the name of her father. This *vaidyabhoga* gift (gift for a hospital) was to be enjoyed by the donee Saravanan Araiyan Madurantakan and his descendants. The patronage of learning, the fostering of medical services, the provision of sacred offerings to God, the building of temples and the establishment of feeding houses for the learned were the main channels of charities of the royal ladies of the early Chola age.

Vedaranyesvarar Temple

Vedaranyam (Tirumaraikkadu)

Vedaranyam on the south-east coast of the Bay of Bengal (Coromandel coast) has an ancient and highly venerated temple, close to another sacred spot, Kodikkarai.

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The Vedas are said to have worshipped the Lord of this place, and to have closed the temple gates when they left. It was only when Appar and Sambandar sang hymns of praise to have the gates opened that they did so.

The temple has about eight old Chola inscriptions of Rajakesarivarman from the 3rd (466 of 1904) to his 26th year (487 of 1904). They are mostly for lamps to the Mahadeva of Tirumaraikkadu, and, of these, two with high regnal years can be assigned to Aditya I.

One of his 20th year (471 of 1904) on a pillar in the *mandapa* in front of the *Thyagaraja shrine* of Vedaranyam is an endowment for a perpetual lamp, sacred bath and special offerings to the deity on *Sadayam* day (471 of 1904). (Is it a record of Rajaraja I ?)

Two other inscriptions are found on pillars in front of the *Ramanathesvara* shrine of this temple. One of them is an incomplete and damaged record of the 21st year and seems to be an endowment by a native of Bahulam in Kanapper Kurram, a division of Pandinadu (477 of 1904). There is another of the 26th year; it refers to a gift for two lamps to the Mahadeva of Tirumaraikkadu by two persons who belonged to Malainadu; on receiving the gift of 180 sheep, the body known as " *Devaridaichchanrom* " (Those attached to the Lord) of Tirumaraikkadu agreed to supply the necessary ghee (SII, XIII, No. 318).

The pillars on which these inscriptions were engraved might have belonged to the old early Chola temple before its renovation.

This original temple should have been consecrated in the days of Aditya I.

Sakshisvara Temple

Tiruppurambiyam

(Adityesvaram-Udaiyar or Tiruppurambiyam udaiya Bhattarakar)

Tiruppurambiyam lies six miles (9.66 km) north-west of Kumbakonam. The deity is said to have conferred grace

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on the *daityas* (*asuras*), *Sunda* and *Upasunda*. The Tamil saint Sambandar is said to have wrought a miracle here by bringing to life the lover of a *Vaniya* woman who had died of snake-bite. Hence the name of the deity Sakshis-vara: "He who witnessed the miracle." This place was the scene of the decisive battle of Sri (or Tiru) Purambiyam in which the Pandyan king Varaguna sustained a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Pallavas.

Sambandar and Sundarar have sung the glory of this Lord. This temple has inscriptions of Chola kings from Aditya I to Rajaraja III. There are a few Rajakesari and Parakesari records which cannot be properly identified. There are two inscriptions of Rajakesarivarman, of his 7th and 15th years (74 and 73 of 1897), on the south wall of the central shrine, which may be assigned to Aditya I. In both of them, the deity is called Tirupurambiyam Bhattala(ra)kar and they relate to gifts for lamps. In later inscriptions, however, the deity is called *Adityesvaram Udaiya Mahadevar* (Rajendra I's : 80 of 1897).

Parantaka I's inscriptions range from his 12th to his 25th year. All of them concern gifts for lamps. There is an inscription of the 14th year of *Maduraikonda Rajakesari* i.e., Sundara Chola. This also concerns a gift for a lamp. An inscription of the 4th year of Parakesari who cut off the head of the Pandya, Aditya II, registers a gift for a flower garden to the deity by one Irumudi Sola Anukkar.

In the third year of Rajakesarivarman, who can be identified with Rajaraja I, Udaiya Pirattiyar, the mother of Uttama Chola, made a gift of a silver pot to this deity on behalf of her son. An inscription of the 10th year of Rajaraja I mentions that Vanavan Muvendavelan set up images of *Ashta Parivaram* in the temple; and by remitting some taxes, he made provision for twilight lamps and offerings to these images (72 of 1897: SII. VI, 21).

The original temple of this place belongs to the time of Aditya I (pls. 85-a, b).

The temple is an *eka-tala* structure with an octagonal

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sikhara (modern). The *garbhagriha* is a square 18 feet 2 inches (5.54 m) side. Its outer walls on the three free sides have three projections and the corresponding returns. There are *panjaras* on both sides of the central projection and bracket figures at the ends above the cornice. The pilasters are 6 feet 4 inches (1.93 m) high and there are panels of *miniature* sculptures below the pilasters. The pilasters have cushion-capitals and brackets with roll-ornament having a central band.

The *ardha-mandapa* stretches 15 feet (4.57 m) forward and there are two *dvarapalas* at its entrance.

In the days of Rajaraja I (10th year, 72 of 1897, SII. VI, 21), one Muvendavelan, in consonance with the then current practice, seems to have inserted in improvised niches new images on the outer walls of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* as in *Karandai*. The *devakoshta* images now found are Vinadhara Dakshinamurti (?), Kankala-murti, Nataraja, Ganapati (standing), Agastya, Dakshina-murti, Lingodbhava, Brahma, Kala-Samhara, Ardhanari, Ganga-Visarjanamurti and Bhikshatana. Of these, Dak-shinamurti, Lingodbhava and Brahma seem to be the original images.*

Jnanaparamesvarar Temple

Nalur-Tirumeyjnanam (Tirumayanam)

Tiru-mey-Jnanam is identified with Tiru-Nalur-Tiru-Mayanam of the *Devaram* hymns of Sambandar. This

* A maid-servant belonging to the *Ilankesvara-Kula-Kala terinja Tiruman-janattar-Velam* set up an image of *Uma-Paramesvariyal* of the *Pallikkattil* (the Lord's bed-room) and provided for offerings to that deity (23rd year of Rajendra I, 323 of 1927).

An inscription of the 7th year of Kulottunga II (*alias* Anapaya) records a gift of land by two persons for providing offerings to Aludaiya Nayanar, Palliyarai-Nachchiyar, Kuttadum devar (Nataraja), Pirattiyar (Goddess), Pillaiyar *Muttu-Mulaik-Kunru* (Ganesa) and Pillaiyar *Arampayanda Pillaiyar* (Subrahmanya — or Dakshinamurti ?) on the twelve new-moon days of the year (350 of 1927.)

From an inscription of the 20th year of Rajaraja III, we learn that in the 37th year of Periyadevar (i. e., his predecessor Kulottunga Chola III), the images of Tiruvalanjuli Udaiyar, Purridangondar and Aramuraitta Nayanar (Subrahmanya who expounded the meaning of *Pranavam* to Siva) were consecrated in this temple (355 of 1927).

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village lies about 9 miles (14.48 km) south-east of Kumbakonam close to Tiruchchirai on the road to Kodavasal. There are two temples in this village called *Nalur* and *Tirumayanam* within a mile of each other.

The temple of Nalur is a *madakkoyil*, apsidal in shape. The deity now called Palasavana-nattu-swamy was known according to inscriptions as Samparasvarattup Perumanadigal or Mahadeva. He is sung by Saint Sambandar. In the 4th year of Parantaka I (327 of 1910), a gift of land is made to the temple by the Assembly of Akkirama Kotta Chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadeya* in Tenkarai-Tirunaraiyurnadu. This temple received further gifts in the days of Sundara Chola (12th year Rajakesari, 329 of 1910). And in an inscription of the 24th year of Rajaraja I (322 of 1910), mention is made of a big hall named after Rajaraja in front of this temple.

The other temple is that of *Tirumayanam*. On the north wall of the *central shrine*, there is an inscription of the second year of Rajakesarivarman. Based on the paleography of the script and the presence of *pullis* marked throughout the inscription, this is assignable to Aditya I. Hence this temple should be considered to have come into existence in his days. The *Perunguri Perumakkal* (the General Body of the village) including the *Bhatta-Perumakkal* (temple-priests) of Nalur, a *brahmadeya* in Sirrur Kurram, received 25 *kasu* and made over the *Angadikkuli* (the market fees or cess) on various articles sold in the bazaar street of the village (details of which are given) in favour of the deity called here *Sri-Mulasthanattu-Mahadevar* of *Tirumayanam* (321 of 1910 and SII. III, No. 90, Plate III). It is now called Jnanaparamesvara temple. In an inscription of the 7th year of Rajakesarivarman, who may be identified with Rajaraja I if not Sundara Chola, the village is called *Periya Sembiyan Mahadevi Chaturvedimangalam* named after the mother of Uttama Chola.

A temple called Agastyesvaram Udaiyar is mentioned in an inscription of Rajendra I. Of all the temples in

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this locality, the temple of Mahadeva of Tirumayanam of the days of Aditya I is the most important (pls. 86-a, b).

This early Chola temple still retains its original features.

The temple faces the east. It is a *karrali*. The *garbhagriha* is a square 13 feet 6 inches (4.11 m) side. The *ardhamandapa* extends 12 feet 6 inches (3.81 m).

It is an *eka-tala* structure. The pilasters are 5 feet 6 inches (1.68 m) high. The *griva* and the *sikhara* are round. There are *pancharas* on each side of the three *devakoshtas*. There are two *dvarapalas* at the entrance to the *ardhamandapa*. There is a *mukha-mandapa* of a later age extending further 45 feet (13.72 m).

An early broken image of Surya (9th century) was found lying loose in the *prakara* of the temple. (This has since been taken away to a Bombay museum.) This is one of the earliest temples of the days of Aditya I.*

Svetaranyesvarar Temple

(Tiruvenkadu devar)

Tiruvenkadu

Tiruvenkadu is another celebrated temple of the Tamil land. This place lies midway between Sirkali, a railway station on the main line of the Southern Railway (Madras to Dhanushkodi) and *Kaverippumpattinam* or *Puhar*, the capital and seaport of the Chola kings of the Sangam age.

Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar, the great *Devaram* hymnists, have paid their homage to this Lord. A noteworthy shrine in this temple is that of *Agoramurti*, Who is considered a form of the terrible aspect of Siva. It is said that He took this form to subdue an *asura* called Maruttuvan, who by his penance obtained from Siva the *sula*, and with its help caused great havoc to men and the *Devas*. His shrine facing the south is on the north side of the

* The trustees of the temple are " threatening " to renovate it. This will mean the demolition of the old valuable temple of the days of Aditya I. This is a good case where the Government, the Department of Archaeology and the Hindu Religious Endowments Board could step in and undertake scientific renovation.

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western *prakara* of this temple.

According to the local inscriptions, the main deity of this temple is called Tiruvenkadu devar and the place *Nangur*. Nangur is now a small village about three miles from Tiruvenkadu, which has a famous Vaishnavite temple; but, in the past, Nangur should have embraced a larger area including the present site of the temple. The oldest inscriptions of the central shrine belong to the days of Rajaraja I, and by its style also, the present temple seems to belong to his age. But in this temple there are inscriptions of the early Chola kings who ruled prior to Rajaraja I. And their inscriptions are found on the pillars planted round the main shrine or on the sides of the gateway of the inner *eastern* and *western gopurams* of the temple.

The earliest Chola inscription in this temple is found on a pillar planted to the north of the wall of the central shrine. It is a record of the 2nd year of a Rajakesarivarman. It concerns a gift of 96 sheep for a lamp; and the record mentions the name of the ruler as "*Peru-Narkkilli Solar*" (466 of 1918: SII. XIII, No. 15). A record from Tiruppalanam (143 of 1928) refers to the same ruler thus :— " *Solapperumanadigal-Perunarkkilli-Solar*." This should certainly refer to Aditya I.

There are a few inscriptions of Parakesarivarman without distinguishing epithets; some may belong to Parantaka I and others to Uttama Chola.

There is an inscription of the 45th year (8+37 years) of Parantaka I on a pillar to the north of the wall of the central shrine. It refers to a gift of land for offerings to *Tiruvenkattup Perumal* by a native of *Kodungolur* (modern Cranganore) in Malainadu (465 of 1918).

A record of the fourth year of Parakesarivarman who took the head of the Pandya king, Aditya II, mentions a gift for a flower garden to the temple of Tiruvenkadu devar.

A queen of Uttama Chola makes a gift of land for a lamp to this temple in the 8th year of Parakesrivarman who should be identified with Uttama Chola.

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An inscription of the 10th year of Parakesarivarman on the east inner *gopuram* mentions a gift of 25 *kalanju* of gold for a lamp to the temple of Tiruvenkadu devar by Sadirayan Uttama Siliyar, wife of Venadudaiyar (482 of 1918). This may be assigned to Uttama Chola.

There are a large number of inscriptions of Rajaraja I (a few of them in the name of Rajakesarivarman from his 2nd to his 28th year). A member of the community of Parthivasekharat-terinja-kaikkolar makes a gift of land to Tiruvenkadu devar in the second year of Rajakesarivarman (491 of 1918).

An inscription of the 6th year of Rajakesarivarman (444 of 1918), which should be assigned to Rajaraja I, records the various gifts made by Sembiyan Mahadevi and other members of the royal family to Tiruvenkadu devar. Unfortunately, the grants are not recorded in the chronological order. The grants consisted of copper vessels, ornaments set with precious stones and images made of gold and silver. In the fourth year of Uttama Chola, she presented certain copper vessels, and, in his sixth year, gold ornaments set with gems. In the sixth year of *Rajakesarivarman*, the same queen gives a gold pot, a gold image of Chandrasekhara and a large number of gold and silver ornaments set with precious stones. Gifts by a queen of Uttama Chola and by Sembiyan Mahadevi in the 10th and 11th years of Parakesari Uttama (Uttama Chola) are recorded. In the end, it mentions that the Assembly of Nangur, in Nangur nadu, had received in the second year of Gandaraditya deva *alias Mummudi Sola* 400 *kasu* presented by Sembiyan Mahadeviyar for bathing the God on all the monthly *Sankrantis*, but had not made the necessary land provision for it. So it was ordered to be done "now" in the sixth year of Rajakesarivarman i.e., Rajaraja I, the year of this record. This inscription is important because it records all the numerous and costly gifts made by this queen and the other members of the royal family, reviewed and consolidated in one record, so

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as not to escape the attention of the administrators or of people interested in the proper management of charitable endowments. Further, it establishes the independent rule of Gandaraditya and the fact of his having the title of Mummudi Chola.

Throughout the Chola period, sumptuous royal gifts were showered on Tiruvenkadu devar.*

The present structure of the temple should be assigned to the Middle Chola period.

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* In the 19th year (126th day) of Rajaraja I, one of his queens, Kuttan Viranarayaniyar *alias* Chola Mahadeviyar, makes a gift of a jewel set with rubies (112 of 1896). Another queen of Rajaraja I, Nampirattiyar Tittaipiran Perumanar *alias* Solamadeviyar. makes a gift of a gold bowl (20th year — 111 of 1896). The servants of the king made, in his 24th year, a gift of gold for *Sengaluni Tiruvasigai* (areola of red lilies) and gold flowers to the temple (454 of 1918). In the 25th year of Rajaraja I, another queen of his, Vanavan Mahadeviyar alias Tribhuvana Mahadeviyar, made a gift of 30 *kasu* for a lamp (442 of 1918).

An inscription of the 26th year of Rajaraja I (456 of 1918) records that the image of *Vrishabhavahana devar* was set up by Kolakkavan and records a gift of money for offerings and jewels to that image. A year later (457 of 1918) certain members of *Rajaraja-Jananatha-terinja-parivara* set up a copper image of the Goddess to the Risha(Vrisha)bhavahanadevar set up in the previous year.

The mother of the queen Villavan Mahadeviyar made a gift of gold for a lamp to this temple (447 of 1918—28th year).

Another inscription of Rajaraja I's (28th year : 449 of 1918) records a gift of gold for offerings to *Adavallar* (Nataraja) in the temple of Tiruvenkadu Udaiyar at Nangur by Kuttan Viraniyar (Viranarayaniyar ?), one of the queens of the king.

The queens of Rajaraja I, Udaiya Pirattiyar Tribhuvana Mahadeviyar and Nakkan Karuk-Kamandal alias Panchavan Madeviyar, make gifts in the early years of the reign of his successor Rajendra I.

An image of *Ardhanari devar* was set up in the temple by *Tuppayan Uttama Soli* in the 29th year (151st day) of *Rajadhiraja I* (114 of 1896); and certain lands were made tax-free by the king for providing services to this deity.

A record of the 30th year of Rajadhiraja I (450 of 1918, also 451 of 1918) mentions that *Amalan Seyyavayar* set up an image of *Pichcha devar* (Bhikshatana murti) and made grants of land, which had been obtained from the king's father Rajendra Chola I, for its requirements. The same person made presents of gold and silver ornaments to the God. A hall called *Rajadhiraja Chatussalai*, where the Assembly met, is mentioned in an inscription of the 45th year of Kulottunga I.

In the 4th year of Vikrama Chola, certain lands were given for a flower garden to the temple of *Tiruchchirrambalam Udaiyar* at *Perumparrappuliyur*,

[Foot-note contd. on next Page]

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Amravanesvara Temple

(Adityesvaramudaiya Bhattarar)

Kuhur

Kuhur is three miles (4.83 km.) from Nachiyar Koil in the Kumbakonam Taluk of the Tanjavur district. According to the inscriptions, Kuhur was known in the past as *Kurur*, and the temple was known as that of *Adityesvaram-Udaiya Bhattarakar or Paramasvamin.*

In addition to this temple, local inscriptions mention the existence of four other temples in the locality.‡

The earliest inscription on the Amravanesvara temple is one of the ninth year of Parakesarivarman (292 of 1917). It records a gift of 25 *kasu* for a lamp to the temple of *Adityesvaramudaiya Bhattarakar* at Kurur in Tirunaraiyur-nadu by one Astra-Siva. About this inscription, the Government Epigraphist remarks:—"This may be one of Parantaka I, as it mentions the temple of Adityesvaram Udaiya Bhattarakar, probably so called after Aditya I". As the deity of this temple is called *Adityesvara*, it is sure to have come into existence in the days of Aditya I and should have been named after the ruler.

[Contd. from page No. 191]

i.e., Chidambaram; and the Assembly of *Irukkaiyur*, a *brahmadeya* in Nangur nadu remitted the taxes on the lands; and this inscription was ordered to be engraved in the temple of Tiruvenkadu - Udaiyar, the local temple (508 of 1918).

A *matha*, to feed pilgrims attending the temple festival, was established here in the fifth year of Vikrama Chola. A grant of six '*ma*' of land, purchased for 18 *kasu*, was made by one Araiyan Alainda-kolariyar; and the *Perunguri Perumakkal* (General Body of the village) of *Mummudi Sola Chaturvedimangalam* (perhaps the name of *Nangur* or *Tiruvenkadu*) met in the *Brahmasthana* called *Rajendra Sola Perambalam* and, after receiving the amount of compensation for remission of land-revenue (100 *kasu*), the Assembly made the land tax-free.

See *Lalit Kala*, Nos. 3 and 4, 1956. "Bronze Images from Tiruvenkadu — Svetaranya (Tanjore District)" by T. N. Ramachandran.

‡ (1) Tirumambalam Udaiya Mahadeva temple — (Rajaraja I to Vikrama Chola's days — 316 of 1917 & 309 of 1917).

(2) Tiruvellerukkisvaram Udaiyar (288 of 1917).

(3) Karikala Sola Isvaram Udaiya Mahadeva (288 and 293 of 1917— Kulottunga I), and

(4) Tirukkalatti – Mahadeva temple (Vikrama Chola, 311 of 1917.)

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An inscription of the second year of Uttama Chola (287 of 1917) registers a gift of land for offerings and worship.

This temple of Amravanesvarar at Kuhur should have been a foundation of the days of Aditya I renovated in the days of Uttama Chola.

The original temple consisted of a square *garbhagriha* 19 feet (5.79 m.) side and an *ardhamandapa* projecting forward 13 feet (3.96 m.).

The plinth has a lotus moulding. The pilasters have cushion capitals and the brackets have roll-ornament with a central band. There are a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice and a *yali* frieze above it.

The second *tala* has miniature shrines rectangular in the centre and square at the ends. It has a bulbous *sikhara* (modern).

The *devakoshta* figures are Vinayaka, Nataraja, Durga (?), Dakshinamurti, an empty niche, Brahma, an empty niche, Durga and Bhikshatana-devar.*

Chandramoulisvara Temple

(Karralip-perumanadigal)

Tiruvakkarai

Tiruvakkarai is on the banks of the Varaha (Gingee) river and it lies 12 miles (19.31 km.) from Villupuram on the Mailam-Gingee road. It has a temple which has been in existence since the days of Aditya I. It is a stone temple and was known only as that of Karralip Peruman-

* There are a few inscriptions of Rajaraja I which are of some importance. One of his *seventh* year (286 of 1917) refers to gifts made in the 7th, 8th and 9th years of Parakesarivarman — probably of Uttama Chola. One Rajaraja Pallavaraiyan of Kuvalalam (Kolar), a *perundanam* of the king, figures as a donor in the same year (291 of 1917).

In the 9th year of Rajaraja I, certain persons were fined, and as they were unable to raise the required amount to pay the fine, their lands were sold to the temple.

There is a reference to a gift of land and a house-site to the temple for conducting the *Chittirai* festival in the shrine of *Nambi Aruran* (Sundaramurti Nayanar : 10th yr. 299 of 1917), and a further gift of land by the local residents to the image of *Pillai Nambi Aruranar* who sang the Tiruppadiyam hymns, i. e., Sundarar (275 of 1917).

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adigal in the days of Aditya I. On the two sides of the south entrance to the central shrine, we have two Rajakesari inscriptions of his 19th and 26th years (169 and 168 of 1904). The first concerns an endowment of 15½ *kalanju* of gold for a lamp to the *Karralip-Perumanadigal* of Tiruvakkarai. The second makes provision for the sacred bath of the deity in the days of the asterism of *Chitra* in the month of *Chitrai* and *Sravana* (Onam) in *Purattasi* every year. Both these records are attributable to Aditya I.

An inscription of the 16th year of Rajaraja I (200 of 1904) mentions the gift of a *devadana* village to the stone temple of *Sivalokamudaiya Paramasvamin* built by *Sembiyan Mahadeviyar*; and allotments were made for the various requirements of the temple. The old Chola temple of Aditya's days should have been renovated and renamed by Sembiyan Mahadevi.

There seems to have been a Vishnu shrine of *Varadaraja Perumal* within the Siva temple, built of bricks by the ancient Chola king of the Sangam age Kochcholan (or Koch-Chenganan), and it is mentioned that in the second year of Adhirajendra, the Vishnu shrine was reconstructed of stone (205 of 1904). It may be of some interest to mention here that the Vaishnavite saint Tirumangai Alvar in his hymn on Tirunaraiyur mentions that Kochchenganan had built 70 temples to Siva and that he worshipped Vishnu in Tirunaraiyur.

The place is of great importance, associated as it is with Kochcholan, Aditya I and Sembiyan Mahadevi.

The temple faces the east.

The *garbhagriha* measures 20 feet (6.10 m.) by 18 feet 6 inches (5.64 m.). It rests on a base of 4 feet (1.22 m.) and a further moulded basement of 4 feet 4 inches (1.32 m.). The pilasters are 5 feet (1.52 m.) high. There is a frieze of *geese* (not the usual *bhutagana*) below the cornice.

The *vimana* is new. The linga is a *Mukha-linga* (three faces ?). There is an *antarala*, 5 feet (1.52 m.) wide, connecting the *garbhagriha* with the *ardhamandapa*. The

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latter measures 23 feet (7.01 m.) from north to south, and 24 feet 4 inches (7.42 m.) from east to west. There are two *dvarapalas* at the entrance to the *ardhamandapa.*

Now, there are no figures in the *devakoshtas.* Some old sculptures are found placed loosely in the *prakara* of the temple, and these are of Vishnu (later), Ganesa, Lingodbhava, Brahma, Bhairava, Ardhanari, Durga with four hands, Giri-Durga with eight hands, Chandesvara, Kshetrapala and Virabhadra, some *parivara-devatas* and a few figures of the *devakoshtas.*

A *prismatic linga* of *Pallava Rajasimha* age and a set of Saptamatrikas are placed in front of the verandah of the temple. The figures of a *rishi* called *Gundali rishi* and of his grandson *Vakrasura* connected with the legendary history of the place are also found in the south *prakara.*

There is a hall, with a few lion pillars at the entrance and designed in the form of a *ratha* drawn by horses, in the outer *prakara* near the main *gopura* of the temple. This is wrongly mentioned as a " thousand-pillared " hall said to have been built in the second year of Kulottunga III at Tiruvakkarai (190 of 1904). It is only a *hundred*-pillared hall.

Near the *gopura* on the south, we have a small shrine of *Vakra-kali* with a Saptamatrika group, later Pallava or early Chola in style, similar to the group at Alambakkam, and the central Kali figure resembles also the Nisumbhasudani sculpture at Tanjavur. On both sides of the entrance to this temple, there are old female guardian deities.

Among the fine metals found here should be mentioned Nataraja and Chandrasekhara (with a broken hand).

It is difficult to believe that Sembiyan Mahadevi who had such a truly historical spirit and respect for tradition would have been responsible for the dislodging of the niche figures now placed loosely in the inner *prakara.* Recent renovators are likely to have been responsible for this violence to tradition.

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1. *Vaikunthavasa Perumal Temple* (Vishnu)
(Tigaittiral Vishnugriham : Virrirunda Perumal)

2. *Agastyesvarasvamin Temple* (Siva)
(Tiru-Agnisvaram-Udaiyar)

Kiliyanur

Kiliyanur, in the Tindivanam Taluk of the South Arcot District, lies about 15 miles (24.14 km.) from Pondicherry on the way to Tindivanam. It was an ancient *brahmadeya* village. There are two early Chola temples, one Vishnu and the other Siva. Perhaps the Vishnu temple is the more ancient, but it has lost its old features, owing to renovation.

The Vishnu temple, now called Vaikunthavasa Perumal temple, was known in the past as *Tigaittiral Vishnugriham.* An inscription (158 of 1919) on the south wall of the central shrine, of the third year of Vijaya Nandivikraman (Nandivarman the Third : A. D. 835-860), mentions that this temple was built by *Tigait-tiralar*, and that he made gifts of sheep for a lamp and land for offerings to the temple. Thus it is a temple of the 9th century.

On the same wall, there is an inscription of the 18th year of Rajakesarivarman, which, because of the high regnal year, should be attributed to Aditya I (155 of 1919). It records that the Assembly of *Kilijnalur* in *Oymanadu* received 75 *kalanju* of gold from a native of Valudavur and agreed to feed five Brahmans every day. On the north wall of the same (central) shrine, there is an inscription of the 16th year of Parakesarivarman, who may be identified with Parantaka I; it mentions a gift of land for the annual repairs to the local tank. Later inscriptions call the deity of this temple ' *Virrirunda Perumal* at Kilijnalur. ' As said earlier, this temple should have been built early in the 9th century, and is included here as one of the days of Aditya I.

The *Siva* temple is now called *Agastyesvaram*, and the inscriptions on its walls call it the temple of *Tiru-agnisvaram Udaiyar.* It lies about two furlongs from the main road. An inscription of the 10th year of Parakesarivarman

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(148 of 1919), who may be identified with Parantaka I' provides for offerings on *amavasya* and *Sankranti* days to the temple of 'Tiruvagnisvaram Udaiyar at Kiliyanallur, a *brahmadeya* in Oymanadu' by a member of the *alunganam* of the village.

The temple is on the eastern bund of a tank, and faces west. It has a partly-damaged *madil* (wall of enclosure) and a gate-way flanked by images of Ganesa and Subrahmanya. These images, by virtue of their location, should be considered as *Siva-ganas* serving as *dvarapalas*. Perhaps it had a *gopura* once, but none exists now. It is a *dvitala karrali* (two-tier stone-temple). Over the *upapitham* stands the *adhishthana*. The latter consists of lotus-mouldings and *kumudam*. Over this layer, there is a *yali* frieze with *makaras* at the ends. The original temple consisted of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*.

There are two sub-shrines, of Chandesa and of Bhairava, in the north-east, and they seem to be original shrines. There are five *devakoshtas*, three on the main walls of the *garbhagriha* and two on those of the *ardhamandapa*. The images are : Bhikshatana and Dakshinamurti in the south; Subrahmanya (locally identified as Vishnu) in the east; and Brahma and Durga (with two hands) in the north. The *garbhagriha* is 13 feet (3.96 m.) square. The three main *devakoshtas* project forward. Ornamental pilasters adorn the outer walls. There is a *bhutagana* frieze below the *kodungai* (cornice). There are *salas* and *kutas* in the second *tala*. It has a square *sikhara*.

The *koshtas* of the *griva* contain : Rshabhavahana in the west; Gangadhara in the east; Brahma with two Consorts in the north; and Dakshinamurti seated under a *vata-vrksha* in the south (pls. 87, 88-a, b, c).

The features of the temple are similar to those of the Agastyesvara temple at Kilaiyur, and it should be considered to belong to the period of Aditya I.*

* K. A. N. Sastri ("The Colas", Second Edition (1955), p. 706 and Note 14 on p. 743) discusses the Agastisvara temple at Kiliyanur, and assigns

[Foot-Note contd. on next Page]

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Kaverippakkam

Kaverippakkam lies six miles (9.66 km.) east of Walajapet in the North Arcot District, and it is a centre of great antiquity. Here were found inscriptions of Pallava kings Nrpatunga and Kampavarman. The Rashtrakuta king Krishna III claims in the *Karhad* copper-plate grant that, while he was encamped at Melpadi, he ordered the construction here of three temples: *Kalapriya*, *Ganda-Marttanda* and *Krishna*. But there has been in this area so much religious and political upheaval that none of these original temples is intact now; nor could they be identified.

On the walls of what is now called the Sundara Varada Perumal temple, we have early inscriptions. An inscription of the 15th year of Nrpatunga mentions the temple of *Tiru-merrali* at Kaverippakkam (401 of 1905).

In an inscription of the sixth year of Rajakesarivarman, the deity is called Kirtti-marttanda *Kalapriyadeva*, recalling the name of one of the temples said to have been built by Krishna III. There are two inscriptions on the pillars of a *mandapa*, of the 24th year (401 of 1905) and the 25th year (400 of 1905) of Rajakesarivarman, and both of them, on account of their high regnal year, could be ascribed to Aditya I. The earlier inscription mentions that the *Mahasabha* of the village included the great men of the several committees—*Ur-variyam*, *Udasina-variyam*, *Pon-variyam*, *Kalani-variyam*, *Sri-koyil variyam*, and the *bhattars* and the *Visishtas* of the village; and they administered all local affairs inclusive of endowments to temples.

But no definite knowledge of the early monuments of this place could be gleaned from the wreckages of the past that have survived. Some of the finest stone sculptures procured from this place have been removed to the Madras and foreign museums.

[Foot-Note Contd. From Page No. 197]

it to the period of Parantaka I. Of the references given in Note 14 on p. 743 of the book, only Inscription No. 148 of 1919 refers to the Siva temple, and the others (Nos. 155-158) refer to the Vishnu temple — not all of them to the Agastisvara temple, as the Note might lead one to believe.

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Kaverippakkam, called in inscriptions *Kavidippakkam*, had the alternate name of Amaninarayana Chaturvedimangalam based on the surname of the Pallava king Nandivarman III.

The existing temples of Konkanisvara, Kottai Abhaya Varada Perumal, and Muktesvara (Tiruvakkisvaram ?) are not of much value for a study of the early Chola temples.

Tirukkarapurisvarar Temple

Tirupparkkadal

Tirupparkkadal is about two miles (3.22 km.) south of Kaverippakkam. The deity is called the *Perumanadigal* of Tiruk-Karapuram on the banks of the *Paryaru* (modern *Palar* : *emmur-paryarrangarait-Tirukkara-purattup-Perumanadigal*) and this place was perhaps a hamlet of Kaverippakkam and so was under the administrative control of the *sabha* of that village.

The local tank and the Annual Tank Committee (*eri-variyam*) figure largely in the local inscriptions. The most important of the early Chola inscriptions is one of the 12th year (129th day) of Parantaka I. One Araisur Udaiyadhiran Sennipperaraiyan of Araisur in Solanadu had endowed 120 *kalanju* of gold which was entrusted with the *Eri-variyam Perumakkal* (The great men of the Tank Supervision Committee for the year). The original endowment was intended to be used for the strengthening of the bunds of the tank by depositing the silt removed from it. He desired to divert the endowment to another object dearer to him. About this time Parantaka I had fought a great battle with the Pandyas and the Ceylonese, and won a great victory over them at *Vellur*. The same victory was also commemorated at Kilappaluvur. Four soldiers are said to have made a frontal attack against the enemy and fallen in this bloody battle leaving behind heaps of the dead on the field (*asti-kadai-seyda jnanru*). The donor wanted to commemorate their heroism suitably and to provide for their spiritual salvation. So he desired to build a feeding house (*salai-mandapam*) and to feed

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four *apurvins* well-versed in the Vedas, for the spiritual merit of the four soldiers who died fighting heroically. And at his request, the *Mahasabha* of Kaverippakkam *alias* Amaninarayana Chaturvedimangalam, inclusive of the great men of the Annual Wards Committee (*Kudumbu-Variyam*), the Garden Committee (*Totta-variyam*), Wet Fields Committees of the village (*Kalani-Variyam*) and of the northern section (*Vada-kalani-variyam*), the *Bhattars* (the priests or learned men) and *Visishtas* (the local distinguished men) of the year accordingly met and decided to grant the request of the donor. It was ordered that four learned men be fed sumptuously (*agaram uttuvippom*) by supplying each with four vegetables, one *alakku* of ghee, one *nali* of curds, betel leaves, nuts etc. The feeding was to be supervised by the great men of the Annual Tank Supervision Committee. The *Mahasabha* including the Tank Committee issued the order and it was written by the *Madhyastha*.

An inscription of the 3rd year (39th day) of Parthivendradivarman of the post-Parantaka I period, who claims victory over Vira Pandya, gives a further insight into the composition and working of local assemblies with its elected members of various committees in charge of the different branches of local administration. It was represented to the authorities that the river broke its bunds and covered with sand the cultivated land assigned as *archanabhoga* (endowment for temple service) and that the temple service could not be conducted. Therefore, the *Mahasabha* of Kaverippakkam *alias* Amaninarayana Chaturvedimangalam inclusive of the following Committees : the great men (*Perumakkal*) of the Annual Supervision Committee (*Samvatsara-variyam*) for the year, the great men of the Garden Supervision Committee (*totta-variyam*), the great men of the Tank Supervision Committee (*eri-variyam*), the great men of the Wet-fields-supervision Committee (*Kalanivariyam*), the great men of (hamlet or suburb ?) *Vata Viranarana*, the great men of the *Panchavara* (Famine-Protection ?)

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Committee, the great men of the Accounts Supervision Committee (*Kanakku-variyam*), the great men of the Sluice-Supervision Committee (*Kalingu-variyam*), the great men of the *tadi-vali variyam* (in charge of roads of the village ?), the *Bhattas* (priests or learned men) and the *Visishtas* (the distinguished men) of the locality, along with the village administrator (*Uralkinravan*) Pallavan Brahmadaraiyan, and Arumbakkilan, the village supervisor in charge of the watch and ward work (*Kankani*)—all these met in the bathing *mandapa* (*abhisheka mandapa*) of the big temple of the village and decided that a further grant of 1400 *kuli* of *poromboke* waste land (*manjikkam*) of the village be assigned to the temple as *archana bhoga* (endowment for temple services) tax-free for providing food offerings at services at the three *sandhis* every day and for a lamp. At the direction of the *Mahasabha*, the gift was made effective by the Wet-Fields Supervision Committee, and it was engraved on stone (692 of 1904 and SII, III. no. 156). A regular bureaucracy in local administration ! The mode of election of some of these Committees is dealt with in two inscriptions of the days of Parantaka I found on the walls of the Vaikuntha Perumal Temple at Uttaramerur.

The *garbhagriha* is 16 feet (4.88 m.) square with an *ardhamandapa* projecting eleven feet (3.35 m.) in front. The basement has plain mouldings. There are five *deva-koshtas* and now only the images of *Brahma* (north) and *Vishnu* (west) are found. Others are missing.

An image of *Jyestha-devi*, of the Early Chola age, is found lying loose on the floor of the inner *prakara* of the temple.

On stylistic grounds, this temple is to be assigned to the age of Aditya I (pls. 89-a, b).

Chandramoulisvara Temple

Brahmadesam

Brahmadesam (was a *brahmadeya*) is a village in the Cheyyar Taluk of the North Arcot District. In this place, there were at least four temples, of which the most im-

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portant is the modern Chandramoulisvara temple called in the old inscriptions *Pondai-Perumanadigal* in Rajamalla Chaturvedimangalam of *Tiruvegambapuram.*

This place is hallowed by the memory of the most illustrious of Chola kings, Rajendra Chola I *alias* Gangai-konda-cholan and his queen Vira-Madeviyar. The ashes of Rajendra I seem to have been interred here along with those of his queen who committed *sati* (self-immolation). An inscription of Rajadhiraja I (26th year, 120th day : 260 of 1915) mentions that the queen's brother, Senapati Madurantakan *alias Parakesari Velar*, made a gift of land for a *water-shed* to quench the thirst of *Sri Udaiyar Rajendra Chola-deva* and his queen *Vira-Mahadeviyar* who is said to have entered the Supreme feet of Brahma in the very tomb in which the body of king Rajendra was interred, and the local Assembly met under a *tamarind tree* as it was an inauspicious occasion, and the required land was sold for the maintenance of the water-shed. Here should have been another *pallippadai* temple which unfortunately cannot now be traced.

About the *Chandra-moulisvara* temple, the Government Epigraphist remarks: "This is a fine specimen of ancient Architecture, probably Pallava, and is entirely built of stone. Some of the sculptures placed in the niches of the walls of the central shrine are richly ornamented and the whole temple is covered with early records of great value." A *grantha* inscription in this temple mentions that the building of this temple in *Kaliyuga* was on the very spot where, in former ages, Agni, the Moon and *Romasamuni* (a Greek astronomer) worshipped *Pondanatha.*

The village is called *Rajamalla Chaturvedimangalam* of *Tiruvegambapuram.* The prefix *Rajamalla* indicates that it owes its origin to a *Western Ganga* king of Talakkad, not Pallava. And it was a Brahman colony having an organized administrative body called *Ganapperumakkal* or *Anjastha-Sattu Sabhai* (a peculiar name whose meaning is not clear). There is a reference also to Committees of

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the *sabha*, *Grama-karya alungana variyam* (Committee administering village affairs) and *Koyil variyam* (Temple-Committee). An officer called *Trai-Rajya Ghattika-madhyastha* (the arbitrator of the College of Trai-Rajya) is mentioned, but his functions are far from clear.

There are two inscriptions of the 20th and 27th year of Rajakesarivarman (237 and 230 of 1915) and they can be assigned to Aditya I. The first refers to a gift for feeding a Brahman in the temple by one of the members of *Alunganattar of* Tiruvegambapuram in Rajamalla Chaturvedimangalam. The second refers to a gift of gold for feeding a Brahman and for burning a lamp in the temple by one *Attamurti*, a resident of *Sankarappadi* (quarters where the members of the merchant-guild—oil-mongers ?—lived) in Rajamalla Chaturvedimangalam. The same donor figures in an inscription of the 17th year of Madurai Konda Parakesari, Parantaka I (224 of 1915), and this confirms the identity of Rajakesarivarman of the 27th year, above referred to, with Aditya I.

There are four inscriptions which without mentioning the name of the reigning ruler give only the *Saka* date 830 (A.D. 908). The latest Pallava record here is an inscription of the 20th year of Kampavarman (227 of 1915) which according to the chronology we have adopted is equivalent to A.D. 898. This is also the date of earliest Chola record (of the 27th year of Aditya I) referred to above. After this, there is a period of political chaos as evidenced by records with the *Saka* date 830 (A.D. 908). Parantaka I's earliest inscription here is that of his fifth year (A.D. 911-12). It is therefore likely that Kampavarman's rule over this part of the country was overthrown between A.D. 898 and 908. And it has to be remembered that before the sixth year (A.D. 912-13) of Parantaka I, as disclosed by his Pullamangai record (559 of 1921), there was a Chola conquest of the Bana country, the repulsion of the invasion of the Rashtrakuta Krishna II, and the conferment of the Bana country and the title of

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Sembiyan Mahabali Vanarayar on his Western Ganga ally Prithivipati II after the Chola victory at the battle of *Vallala* (Tiruvallam) described in the Sholinghur record (9 of 1896). Hence there is sufficient evidence of political unrest and chaos then in this region. Aditya I's supremacy must have been contested by the Pallava Kampavarman. The Pallava must have been overthrown in this region by Parantaka I aided by his ally Prithivipati II. And this inscription of the 5th year of Parantaka I here marks perhaps the reconquest of this region by the Cholas under Parantaka I (between A.D. 908 and 911-12).

Parantaka I's inscriptions range from his 5th year to his 40th year. An inscription of his 16th year (226 of 1915) fixes the remuneration to the Accountant of the Tank Committee by the Assembly of *Ainjasashtasam* (?). A gift of 25 *kuli* of land for offerings was made to the shrine of *Pondai Dakshinamurti* by a resident of Sankarappadi. In the 29th year of this king, a gold diadem was presented to the temple of Pondai-Bhattarakar by a native of Narana-mangalam (202 of 1915). Others relate to gift of lamps. There is an inscription of the 17th year of Kannaradeva which relates to a gift of gold for a lamp.

The rule of Parthivendravarman over this region is attested by his inscriptions from his second to his 13th year. One of his second year (195 of 1915) records that all the lands belonging to the temple were made tax-free by the village Assembly of Ainjasashtasam in lieu of the amount of gold which it owed to the temple. An inscription of the 4th year (189 of 1915) mentions a gift of gold for offerings and a lamp to the image of *Rishabhavahana-deva* set up in the temple. One *Trai-Rajya-Ghatika-Madhyasthan Muvarayan* makes a gift of gold for the *abhisheka* (bathing) of *Pondai Perumanadigal* in the 13th year of this king (197 of 1915); the same donor makes in the same year another gift of 30 *kalanju* of gold for a lamp to this temple; and the gift was placed in charge of the *Gana Variyap-Perumakkal* (?) and in case of default,

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the *Sraddhamandars* (persons interested in the proper administration of charitable endowments) were to levy a fine on each member of the Committee on behalf of the king (194 of 1915) (pl. 90).

An inscription of the 17th year of Rajakesari (206 of 1915), which the Government Epigraphist assigns to Sundara Chola (?), records an endowment of two plots of land for the supply of sandal paste to the God, and the gift was left in the hands of the '*Koyil Gana Variyapperumakkal*'.

The temple faces the east. Its basement has plain mouldings. The *garbhagriha* is a square 21 feet (6·40 m) side. Beyond that, there is an *antarala* 8 feet (2·44 m) wide and further up a *mandapa* in ruins. The niche figures have been deliberately removed and carried away by interested parties.

Above the *garbhagriha*, there are two storeys. The *sikhara* is modern and of brick. And as in other early Chola temples there are miniature shrines on the upper *talas*. The cornice is adorne with *kudus* and there are a *bhutagana* frieze below it and a *yali* frieze above it.

There is a fine figure of Nrsimha in the eastern niche of the second *tala*.*

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*In the days of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I, this place was called Karaikkottu Brahmadeyam *alias* Parakrama Sola Chaturvedimangalam.

An inscription of the 16th year of Rajaraja I makes provision for the singing of Tiruppadiyam in the temple (199 of 1915). Another of his 31st year makes a gift of a gold diadem.

A shrine of *Subrahmanya deva* alias *Solakerala-nadar* is mentioned in the 26th year of Rajendra I.

Mention has already been made of the gift of a watershed in the 26th year of Rajadhiraja I for the spiritual merit of Rajendra I and his queen who committed *sati*. In the 32nd year of Rajadhiraja I, a gift is made for offerings to the image of Tiruchchirrambalam Udaiyar in this temple (263 of 1915). Two years later, a gift of gold is made for offerings to the image of *Pasupatamurti* when taken out in procession during the *Sri-bali* ceremony (262 of 1915).

This is an early Chola temple of stone with rich associations. Perhaps it was (a later Pallava or) *Ganga* foundation enriched and glorified by the early Cholas.

This temple is in a dilapidated condition and has suffered heavily at the hands of vandals but timely scientific renovation can still save this venerable monument full of such rich associations.

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Ukkal

Ukkal (Utkal) is a village one mile (1.61 km.) to the east of Kulambandal, which is five miles (8.05 km.) south of Mamandur on the Kanchi-Vandavasi road.

This place has an ancient ruined Vishnu temple of the ninth century A.D. Apart from two inscriptions of Pallava Kampavarman (10th and 15th years), one of the earliest Chola inscriptions is that of the 23rd year of a Rajakesarivarman, which can be assigned to Aditya I. It records a gift of 200 *kalanju* of gold made by a member of the *Alunganam* (Executive Committee) of Uttaramerur. The *sabha* of the village received the endowment and agreed to utilise the interest on this sum for feeding twelve Brahmans well-versed in the Vedas. It marks the end of Kampavarman's rule here and the beginning of Aditya I's (A.D. 894). Another of the early Chola inscriptions relates to the 16th year of a Parakesarivarman (28 of 1893), whom Hultzsch, perhaps on paleographical grounds, identifies as Vijayalaya. He states, "This king is perhaps identical with Vijayalaya, the grandfather of Parantaka I". But it is to be ascribed to Parantaka I. Utkal is here called Siva Chudamanimangalam *alias* Vikramabharana Chaturvedi mangalam in *Kaliyur Kurram* and *Kaliyur Kottam*. The deity of this old ruined Vishnu temple is called Bhuvana-manikka Vishnugrihattu Perumanadigal.

According to an inscription of the 37th year of Parantaka I (30 of 1893), the *sabha* of the village gave this deity as *deva-bhoga* (lands assigned to the Gods) the northern hamlet of Sodiyambakkam including the flower-garden, the village house-sites, the tank, the wet lands and the dry lands for the requirements of worship, oblations, lamps, festivals, the bathing of the idol at the solstices, equinoxes and eclipses, for *Sri-bali* offerings and for supplies to the temple store. The *sabha* also agreed that neither the *annual* Committee, nor the *tank* Committee nor the *garden* committee was to levy any kind of tax on the village or

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claim any forced labour, and further that the *Deva* (king) alone should have the right to punish the criminals or sinners. A penalty was imposed on those who infringed this order.

An inscription of the 16th year of Kannara deva (25 of 1893) mentions that the *sabha* of the village met in the *mukhamandapa* of the Vishnu temple and decided that the lands of the village-common, not so far assigned, were to be assessed and sold to those who agreed to pay land-revenue.

In the 4th year of Parakesarivarman who took the head of Vira Pandya—Aditya II (32 of 1893), a resident of the village gave one *patti* of land for supplying water to the *Brahmasthana* of the village during six (hot) months, for which a water-lever and a cistern were also provided, and fire-pans (*agnishtha*) during the other six (cold) months, and this charity was placed under the protection of the *annual* committee. The *Brahmasthana* was the meeting-place of the Assembly of learned Vedic scholars of a *Chaturvedimangalam*. The earliest reference to such a gift is found in the plates of the Pallava kings Paramesvara-varman (I Tandantottam) and Nandivarman II. It may be added that an inscription of Rajaraja I from Tenneri (11th year, 164th day; 241 of 1922) mentions that the Great Assembly of that village met in the *Brahmasthana* of the village and decided that only Brahmans well versed in the *mantras* were eligible for appointment as members of the executive committee of the Assembly (*variyam-seyvar*) and for participating in the deliberations of the Assembly.

In another inscription of Rajaraja I (of his 13th year) we find the deity of this temple being called by a new name, Tiruvoimolidevan. This inscription further records that the *mahasabha* including the *Samvatsara Variyap-perumakkal* (The annual Committee) and the *Eri-Variyap-perumakkal* (The tank Committee) assigned, at the request of the manager of the temple, some lands to this temple for the purposes of "burnt" oblations, festivals, expiations and the bathing of the idol at the Uttarayana and

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Dakshinayana solstices, at the *Chitrai* and *Aipasi* equinoxes and during the solar and lunar eclipses.

From two inscriptions of Rajaraja II, on the walls of this Vishnu temple, we learn of the existence of a *Pidari* temple and of a *Mahasasta* temple whose affairs were administered by a body called *Satta Ganattar*.

The local Assembly and their Committees enjoyed powers of taxation. The *tank Committee* was empowered to levy a fine of one *kalanju* of gold on betel-sellers who sold betel in places other than the premises of the *Pidari* temple. The fine was to be added to the funds of the *tank* Committee.

An endowment of the 4th year of Rajendra I makes provision for the maintenance of two boats in the tank of the village. This was for purposes of dredging the tank and keeping it in a state of good repair.

Vaidyanatha Svamin Temple

There seems to have been another temple, a *Siva* temple, now called *Vaidyanatha Svamin* temple, but in one of its inscriptions as the temple of *Peruntirukkoyil Perumanadigal*, and in an inscription of Rajadhiraja I as *Madurantaka Isvaram Udaiyar*. It was originally a temple of *brick*, and an inscription of the 29th year of Rajendra I (158 and 159 of 1939-40) mentions that a royal officer, Kumarakalan Vasudevan *alias* Atisaya Sola Muvendavelan of Ukkal, constructed it of *stone*.

In this temple, there are two fragmentary inscriptions of a certain Parakesarivarman (10th and 15th years : 165 and 166 of 1939-40). Discussing the identification of Parakesarivarman of the 15th year, the Government Epigraphist for India holds that *this inscription should be attributed to Uttama Chola*. He says : " It calls the village of Ukkal by the surnames Sivachulamanimangalam and Vikramabharana Chaturvedimangalam. These two names are clear in another inscription of Parakesarivarman dated in his 16th year from the place (SII. Vol. III, No. 11) which

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has however been *wrongly attributed to Vijayalaya instead of Uttama Chola.* The same two names of the village are found in a record of the 16th year of Krishna III (ibid., No. 7) while, in a record of the earlier king Aditya, the village is called Sivachulamanimangalam *alias Aparajitachaturvedimangalam.* It seems therefore reasonable to infer that the latter name gave place to Vikramabharana Chaturvedimangalam sometime between the time of Aditya and Kannara, after a possible surname of Parantaka I himself." (Epigraphical Report, 1939-40 to 1942-43, para 30, Part II, page 238).

It may be mentioned that in both the inscriptions of Kampavarman, the place is called simply *Utkal.* An inscription of the 23rd year of Rajakesarivarman can be definitely assigned to Aditya I (Vide Facsimile of inscription: Plate I, S.I.I., III, Part I), and in this the village is called Sivachulamanimangalam alias *Aparajitachaturvedimangalam.* In all other inscriptions ranging from the days of Parantaka I to those of Rajendra I, it is called Sivachulamanimangalam alias *Vikramabharana Chaturvedimangalam.**

We may agree with the Government Epigraphist that it is reasonable to infer that the name of Vikramabharana might be a surname of Parantaka I himself, but it is difficult to accept his view that the inscription of the 16th year of Parakesarivarman, which Hultzsch assigned to Vijayalaya on paleographical grounds, should be attributed to Uttama Chola, separated by an interval of more than a century; such a grave error of judgement cannot be attributed to so sound an epigraphist as Hultzsch. Nor has the Government Epigraphist assigned any reasons for his stand except that this fragmentary inscription from Ukkal dated in the 15th year of Parakesarivarman "*may also be attributed to Uttama Chola*". As the name of Aparajita Chaturvedimangalam appears only once and that in an

* Parakesari 16th yr (no. 11); Rajakesari 17th yr (no. 13); Parantaka I 37th yr (no. 12); Krishna III 16th yr (no. 7), 14th yr (no. 3), 17th yr (no. 6) and 29th yr (no. 14); Rajendra I 4th yr (no. 10).

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inscription of Rajakesarivarman (23rd year—Aditya I,) and as the name of Vikramabharana Chaturvedimangalam appears in all subsequent inscriptions, it is doubtful if the inscription of the 16th year of Parakesarivarman could be assigned to Vijayalaya. In that case, this inscription of the 23rd year of Rajakesarivarman should be considered the earliest Chola inscription at Ukkal.

There should be no objection to assigning both the inscriptions of the 15th year and the 16th year of Parakesarivarman (166 of 1939-40; and No. 11 of SII. III. I: No. 18 of 1893) to *Parantaka I.* We have innumerable, instances where the inscriptions of Parantaka I with the mere title of Parakesarivarman are found, and sometimes, even in the same place, we have his inscriptions bearing both the mere name of Parakesarivarman and the distinguishing epithet of Madirai-Konda. And the fragmentary Rajakesari inscription of the 17th year should be assigned to Sundara Chola.

If, in the light of the foregoing discussion, the Vishnu temple could not be assigned to the days of Vijayalaya, it was certainly in existence before the 23rd year of Aditya I (A.D. 894). But because of the presence of the inscriptions of Kampavarman (10th year = A.D. 888; 15th year = A.D. 893) on the outer walls of this temple, it must have existed sometime before A.D. 888. It was perhaps a later Pallava temple of the ninth century.

This village was a Chaturvedimangalam. The *mahasabha* and the various committees elected by it enjoyed vast powers in the field of local self-government. And the local Vishnu temple was the very hub of the vast net-work of social, religious, economic and political life of the place. The village and the temple were an integrated whole.

Tiruvural Mahadeva Temple

(Jalanathesvara)

Takkolam

Takkolam, about six miles (9.66 km.) from Kanchi, holds an honoured place in early Chola history, but it

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should have had a longer and greater past at least from the Christian era onwards. Like the New-England colony of England in North America, the Indian emigrants of this place should have established a colony, *New-Takkolam*, in the Malay Peninsula. Ptolemy, the Greek geographer of the 2nd century A.D. calls this place *Takola*. The place is also referred to in the *Milinda Panha* of the fifth century A.D.

It was in the district of *Takaupa* (of Siam), on the left bank of the river of the same name and opposite to a hill called *Naranam* (Vishnu)-*ko-phra-Narai*, that there were discovered three sculptures and a stone slab with a Tamil inscription. The name of the hill is Naranam and the sculptures are of Vishnu and His consorts Sri Devi and Bhudevi. The inscribed stone with a Tamil inscription of about the ninth century A.D., mentions that the tank called *Avani-naranam* was dug by a chief of *Nangur* (a famous Vaishnavite centre in the Tanjavur district of South India), and that it was placed under the protection of a mercantile corporation called *Manigramam* and of the residents of the military camp (*Sena-mukhattar*). *Avaninarayana* was a surname of the Pallava king Nandivarman III. This clearly establishes the existence here in the 9th century A.D. of Indian settlers who practised the Vaishnavite form of religion and erected a temple in honour of Vishnu in this area. We also learn that this mercantile corporation (Manigramam) established centres of trade in foreign lands with the privilege of having an armed camp of soldiers not only for their personal safety in those settlements but also for the protection of their trade interests in foreign lands. Such was the extra-territorial privilege enjoyed by the Indian mercantitle corporations in foreign lands.

Rajendra Chola I, the conqueror of Gangai and Kadaram (A.D. 1030), describes the conquest of this region and it is celebrated in his *prasasti* in a line of exquisite beauty. The place is described as the great city of Takkolam famous for its men of learning (Kalai-takkor-pugal-talai-Takkolam).

In the homeland, there exists an ancient temple of the

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9th century A.D. It contains records of Aditya I of his 21st and 24th years, inscribed perhaps soon after his conquest of Tondai-nadu. Half a century later, it was here that Kannaradeva, the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III, attacked Mummadi Chola Rajaditya, the eldest son of Parantaka I, killed him in the battle field, entered the Chola country (A.D. 949) and remained in possession of its northern part for nearly a quarter of a century. Takkolam is also mentioned in the Atakur inscription as the place in which *Butuga*, the feudatory of Krishna III, killed the Chola king Rajaditya. Thus, it will be seen that Takkolam has held a key position in South India, and the happenings here have deeply influenced the course of the history of the Cholas and their contemporary rivals.

In the past, there were three temples in this place. One is a Vishnu temple now dilapidated, called, in an inscription of Rajendra Chola I found on its walls, *Rajaraja Tirunarayana Vinnagar*, perhaps named after Rajaraja I. We are not vouched if it existed prior to his days.

There was also a Siva temple of *Palesvarar* which bore on its walls three inscriptions, of Rajendra I, of Vikrama Chola and of Tribhuvana Rajendra Chola (II ?). The first relates to a gift of 32 cows for the daily supply of milk for the early morning service of the deity of the temple called in the inscription *Mahadeva* alias *Mumalai-Isvara* of *Tiruppalural* at Takkolam. The place is so called perhaps on account of the existence of a natural spring of water resembling milk. This gift is said to be for the merit of Tribhuvana Mahadeviyar, the mother of the king (Rajendra I). We do not know if it was a foundation of the days of Rajendra I or an earlier one.

But, of the three temples, the most important, perhaps also the most ancient of them all, is the temple of Tiruvural Mahadeva or Jalanathesvara. It was known as *Nanditirtha* in Vijayanagar times.

The inscriptions on its walls cover a long period of about seven centuries (9th to 16th century), except one in Tamil

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verse in modern characters in praise of a certain Banaraja.

The earliest is one of the third year of *Ko-Vimaladitya*, perhaps a local Bana chief whose identity cannot be established (1 of 1897). Three inscriptions of Rajakesari (244, 255, and 260 of 1921) cannot be identified. The two earliest Chola records of this temple are one of the 21st year of Rajakesarivarman (A.D. 892) which records a gift of 30 *kalanju* of gold for a lamp to the *Karrali Mahadeva* at Tiruvural (260 of 1921 : S.I.I. XIII, no. 294) and the other of the 24th year of Rajakesarivarman (A. D. 895 : 5 of 1897). Both of them can be assigned to Aditya I. The latter refers to a gift by one *Prithivipati* (II), son of *Maramarayar*, of a silver jug (*Vellik-kendi*) to Tiruvural Madevar on the occasion of a solar eclipse. This donor is the grandson of Prithivipati I, the Ganga chief who fought on the side of the Pallava king Aparajita at the battle of Tiruppurambiyam. Now, his grandson Prithivipati II figures as a vassal of Aditya I. This Ganga Chief remained loyal to his overlord Parantaka I and should have helped him in the conquest of the Bana country by defeating the Banas who were helped by the Rashtrakuta king Krishna II at the battle of the *Vallala* (Tiruvallam). For his devoted services, Parantaka I conferred on him the title of *Sembiyan Mahabali Vanarayar* and the Lordship of the Bana country.*

There are a number of inscriptions of Parantaka I ranging from his 7th to his 35th year. A lady makes a gift of gold for a boat to be launched in the big tank and another for the proper maintenance of the tank. A gift of gold of 455 *kalanju* for a *kolgai* (a *kavacha* or a covering) is mentioned in an inscription of his 24th year.

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* See inscription of the 6th year of Parakesari—*Pullamangai*—(559 of 1921), inscription of the 9th year of Parakesari at *Sholinghur* (9 of 1896) and the *Udayendram plates* of Prithivipati II; and also *Epigraphia Indica*, Vols. IV pp. 221-5 and XXVI No. 10 pp. 112-4. The text is as follows (5 of 1897):

"Svasti Sri *Kovirasakesari panmarkku yandu—irupattu nalavadu* Anittalaip piraiyil tindina Surya grahanathu-nanru—Tiruvural Madevarkku Maramarayar-mahanar Prithipatiyar kudutta Vellik-kendi nirai munnurruorupattelu *kalanju* idu panmahesvara rakshai."

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Vira Mahadeviyar was the daughter of the Chola King Parantaka I. She had married *Govinda Vallaraiyar* who is identified with Govinda IV, the Rashtrakuta ruler. He was unpopular and so was deposed by Amoghavarsha III, and perhaps lived in the border land of the Banas. Vira Madeviyar made two gifts of lamps to this God (245 and 246 of 1921 : Ep. Indica XXVI No. 29) in the 31st year of Parantaka I.

The head of a local *Matha* made a gift of a lamp to Tiruvural Mahadeva in the 27th year of Kannaradeva (about AD. 967) when the region of Takkolam had passed from the control of the Cholas into the hands of the Rashtrakutas.

The celebration of the *Masi Makham* and the procession of the God on the sixth day of the festival are mentioned in more than one inscription.

Takkolam came to be known as Kshatriya Sikhamani-puram in the days of Rajaraja I; Irattapadikondapuram in the days of Rajadhiraja I; Vallavapuram and Kulottunga Solapuram during the time of Kulottunga I; and Vadamu-dikonda Solapuram during the time of Vijaya Ganda Gopal of Kanchipuram and in the subsequent Vijayanagar period (pls. 91-96).

The local inscriptions reveal that Tiruvural Mahadeva continued to receive the homage of the princes and the peoples of the land down to the sixteenth century.

The temple faces the east. The *garbhagriha* is a square 18 ft. 4 in (5.59 m.) side. The basement has a *yali*-frieze and is 4 ft. 4 in. (1.32 m.) high.

The *devakoshtas* have Ganapati, Durga and Ardhanari on the outer walls of the *ardhamandapa* and Dakshinamurti, Vishnu and Brahma on the walls of the *garbhagriha*. The pilasters are 5 ft. (1.52 m.) high. There is a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice which is adorned with *kudus* with human heads, and circles at the edges.

The *ardhamandapa* stretches forward 16 ft. 2 in. (4.93 m.) and there are two *dvarapalas* at its entrance.

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The temple seems to be a Bana foundation of the 9th century further improved by the early Cholas.

Bilvanathesvara Temple

Tiruvallam

Tiruvallam (or Vallapuri) is a village in the North Arcot district on the western bank of the *Niva* river (Nuha or Ponni), a tributary of the *Palaru*, just before it joins the main river. It is six miles (9.66 km.) south of Melpadi. It bears the name of *Tikkali* or *Tikkali-Vallam*: and it was the capital of the Banas under the name of *Banapuram*. Their country was known as *Perumbanappadi* of 12,000 villages lying to the west of the trunk road leading to the *Andhra country* (*Vadugapperuvali*).

On a boulder in the bed of the river *Niva*, one mile north-east of Tiruvallam, there is an inscription of the 62nd year of Vijaya Nandivikraman (II=793 A.D.; 76 of 1889) It mentions that his subordinate chief ruling over this area of Vadugavali—12,000, *Mahavali-vanaraya*, confirmed the grant of some land by a goldsmith to the temple of *Vada-sikhara kovil* (the temple with the tower in the northern sector) at Vanapuram after he had renovated it (*pudukkivittu*). This temple of the 8th century in the northern sector has gone out of existence.

All other inscriptions of this place come from the temple of *Ten-Tali-Tikkalip-Perumanadigal*, the temple in the southern sector now known as the Bilvanthesvara, the Lord of the *Bel* (Vilva) tree.

Here are found some pre-Chola inscriptions. And these, except one (no. 46 of SII. III., I) engraved on a stone built into the floor of the temple, are copies of older inscriptions, re-engraved on the walls of the temple after its renovation, which should have taken place sometime after the days of Parantaka I and before the days of Rajaraja I.

Hultzsch has made the following remarks regarding the renovation of this very ancient and extremely interesting temple:—"The rebuilding of the temple must have taken

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place *before the seventh year* of the reign of Rajaraja I. For, in that year, the temple was visited by Gandaraditya, the son of Madurantaka who 'caused one thousand jars of water to be poured over the God' (no. 49 of SII. III, I), This statement suggests that he performed the ceremony of *kumbhabhishekam* which has to be gone through when a temple is consecrated or reconsecrated."

This inscription of the 7th year of Rajaraja I records a visit to the temple by Madurantakan Gandaradittan, perhaps the son of Uttama Chola and a highly respected and influential royal officer of Rajaraja I, who has to his credit similar inspections of other temples in the Tamil land, and who checked their accounts and corrected the abuses discovered during his inspection. The inscription mentions that he came to worship the Lord on the day of the lunar eclipse (*somagrahanam*) and caused the God to be bathed with 1000 pots of water. During his stay in the temple, he observed that the offerings in the temple had been reduced to a minimum and that the lamps of the temple were burning dimly; so, he called for a detailed statement of the income and expenditure of the temple from the *sabha* of Tikkali-Vallam. Unfortunately, we are not in a position to know his orders as this inscription is built in. Whatever be his decision, it is clear that he visited the temple on the day of the lunar eclipse and arranged for the sacred bath of the Lord with 1000 pots of water. Hultzsch has overlooked one important factor that no Hindu would fix the celebration of an auspicious ceremony like the *kumbabhishekam* on the inauspicious day of a lunar eclipse. It is usual for pious Hindus to observe fasting and prayers and to arrange for the sacred bath and offerings to the deities at the temples on such days. Hence the suggestion of Hultzsch is untenable, and therefore, has to be rejected. Such being the case, the date of the renovation of the temple has to be inferred mainly from the architectural features of the temple.

Next, we come to an inscription (copy) of the 17th year

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of Vijaya Nandivikramavarman (no. 43 of SII. III, I) wherein figures his vassal *Mavali Vanaraya* alias *Vikramaditta Vanaraya*. This Nandi should be identified, not with Nandivarman II of the inscription on the boulder in the bed of the river *Niva*, but with Nandivarman III, the victor of Tellaru, who belongs to the middle of the 9th century A.D. (about A.D. 852), the period of the rise of Vijayalaya. Mavali Vanaraya *alias* Vikramaditta, a vassal of Nandivarman III, made a request that the three villages—Aimbuni, Vilattur and Amarunrimangalam–should be clubbed together into one village called Videlvidugu Vikramaditta Chaturvedimangalam, and given over to the temple of Paramesvara at Tikkali-Vallam, and that the Assembly of Videlvidugu-Vikkiramaditta Chaturvedimangalam should pay 200 *kadi* of paddy and 20 *kalanju* of gold which were being paid by the *devadana* village of Amarunrimangalam, one of the three constituent villages. Out of this income, detailed arrangements were made for offerings to the God, feeding of Siva Brahmanas, provision for the maintenance of men in charge of the temple store room, pickers of flowers for garlands, singers of *Tiruppadiyam*, burning of lamps and meeting other incidental necessaries of the temple.

Then, we have an inscription (no. 44 of SII. III, I) dated in Saka 810 (=A.D. 888 in the period of Aditya I) of a Bana chief whose name is not mentioned, but who is described by the title of Mahavalivanaraya. It records the gift of a lamp by a Brahman to the God Tirut-tikkalip-perumanadigal of Tiruttikkali-Vallam. This inscription makes it clear that the *Pallava* power had become eclipsed, that the Bana chief enjoyed independence, and that the Chola power had not penetrated into this region. It was the period of Aditya I, and evidently, he had not conquered this region by this time.

The next inscription (no. 45 of SII. III, I) also belongs to *Mahabali Vanaraya*, the same as the previous chief. It bears no date, nor the personal name of the ruler. It

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records a gift of land for offerings and a lamp to the temple of Tikkalip-perumanadigal, by a native of Kachchipedu (Kanchi).

We have then the *original* inscription (No. 46, SII. III, I), engraved on a stone slab built into the floor of the temple, of *Vana Vidyadhara Vanarayar* whose queen gives a gift of 20 *kalanju* of gold for a lamp to *Ten Tali Tirukkalipperu-manadigal* (the southern temple). This ruler is identified with *Vikramaditya* I, the Bana king.

Two more pre-Chola inscriptions (copies, 47 and 48 of S.I.I. III, I) have to be considered now. The first records the gift of a lamp to Tirut-tikkalip-perumanadigal by *Vanamahadevi*, the *great queen* of *Vana Vidyadhara* alias Vanaraya, who was the daughter of *Pritipati Araiyar* (Prithivipati I), the son of Sri Natha *alias* Siva Maharaja Perumanadigal of Kunilapura (Kolalapura or *Kolar* in modern Mysore), of the western Gangas. Her real name *Kundavaiyar* is mentioned in the other record (no. 49) and she makes a gift of 40 *kalanju* of gold for lamps to Tirut-tikkalip-perumanadigal. These two gifts are made by the great daughter of the Gangas and the queen of the Bana ruler. This temple should be regarded as the original foundation of the *Bana* kings.

There is an inscription of the 4th year of Parantaka I on the walls of the Nakulisvara shrine in this temple; and as most parts of Tondaina u passed into the hands of the Cholas between the 21st and 27th years of Aditya I, it is likely that the land of the Banas became part of the Chola kingdom during the latter part of Aditya I's rule.

It is likely that the original Bana foundation was renovated in the days of Uttama Chola, though there is no evidence for it. Anyhow, this temple should be regarded as a structure of the pre-Rajaraja I period.

The consecration of *Uma Bhattarika* as a Consort of Tirut-tikkali Alvar Kuttap-perumanadigal is mentioned in an inscription of the 7th year of Rajaraja I.

Another temple called *Tiruvaiyya Isvaram* on the south

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side of the Bilvanathesvara temple was erected in the days of Rajaraja I. The *urom* of Vanapuram sold to Sankaradeva, the son of *Siva Maharaya Tiruvaiyan* of the *Ganga* family, 700 *kuli* of wasteland as *archanabhoga* to *Tiruvayya Isvaram*, named after the father of the donor, erected to the south of the Tirut-tikkalip-ponkoyil of Tiruvallam (no. 51 of S.I.I. III, I). In an inscription of Rajendra I (3rd yr. no. 53 of S.I.I. III, I), the *Urar* of Vanapuram sold 1000 *kuli* of land to *Siva Maharaja Vaidumban Sankaradevan Somanathan*, i.e. Somanatha, son of Sankaradeva, the donor in the previous record; and he assigned the land to the Mahadeva temple of *Tiruvayya Isvaram* said to have been built by the members of his family on the southern side of Tiruvallam Udaiyar. Thus, the donor claims to be a member of the Ganga-Vaidumba family, and he should be considered a Chola feudatory.

There are endowments to this temple almost to the end of the Chola rule.

The temple basement has plain mouldings. The *garbhagriha* is a square 12 ft. 10 inches (3.91 m.) side. There is an *antarala* 4 ft. 2 inches (1.27 m.) long. The *ardhamandapa* projects further 12 feet 2 inches (3. 71 m.). In front of this, there is a *mukhamandapa*, 37 feet (11.28 m.) by 32 feet (9.75 m.), supported by six central pillars. There are two *dvarapalas* at the entrance to the *ardhamandapa*.

There are *devakoshtas* on the outer walls of the *garbhagriha* and the *antarala*. The figures in these niches are Ganesa, Dakshinamurti, Vishnu, Brahma and Durga.

The *devakoshtas* are adorned with *makara-toranas* at the top. There are sculptures in these *makara-toranas*: Nataraja's dance over the Vishnu niche; Bhikshatana with the Rishi-patnis over Brahma's; Ravana-anugrahamurti over Durga's.

Old figures of Vishnu and Brahma are found in the south verandah of the temple. On the north side, there is a shrine of Chandesvara.

The Nakulisa shrine is a small *prasada* within the *prakara*

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of the temple, erected in the days of Parantaka I. On its walls are *devakoshta* figures of Brahma and Durga. There are two small *dvarapalas* in the verandah of the Arunachalesvara shrine opposite to that of Nakulisa (Lakulisvara).

The *griva* portion of the main *vimana* is interesting. It contains figures of Indra, Vinadhara Dakshinamurti, Vishnu and Brahma, and between every adjacent pair of these figures, there is a sculpture of a *bhutagana*. All the eight sculptures are of excellent workmanship. There is a *kudu* over each of these eight figures, and these *kudus* project into the octagonal *sikhara*.

The *stupi* is modern.

The temple is an ancient Bana foundation, reconstructed in the early Chola period. According to its style, architectural and sculptural, it should be assigned to the pre-Rajaraja I age (pls. 97-101)

Mulasthanattup-Perumanadigal

Tirukkalukkunram

Tirukkalukkunram has one of the most ancient and most sacred among the Siva temples of the Tamil land. It lies about nine miles (14.48 km.) south-east of Chingleput, and six miles (9.66 km.) away lies Mamallapuram (Kadal Mallai) the sea-port and emporium of the Pallavas of Kanchipuram.

The chief hill of this place is called *Vedagiri* because it is regarded as the very embodiment of the Vedas; and the Lord of this hill is believed to be worshipped by two *rishis* who had been cursed into kites. The appearance of the kites at midday and the offering of food to them by the local *pujari* is now the main attraction to the pilgrims who visit this place.

There are two temples on the hill itself. One is the rock-cut cave temple of Pallava times now called the *Orukal Mandapa* lying midway on the eastern face of the rock. There are a *cell* and a *verandah* supported by four solid cubical pillars with four pilasters on the sides. There are two *dvarapalas* on either side of the central cell of the

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cave. There are figures of Brahma and Vishnu in the central back wall of the cave. On either side of the verandah also, there are two graceful life-size figures of *dvarapalas* of good workmanship. The pillars contain inscriptions of the names of Dutch visitors to the cave in the 17th century; but there is also an early Tamil inscription, very much abraded, of *Vatapi-Konda Narasingha Pottarasar*, the Pallava king, on the eastern face of the capital of the second pillar in the upper verandah, which mentions a gift by this ruler—an endowment for worship (*Valippattuppuram*) to the *Mulasthanattup Perumanadigal* on the *sacred hill* of Tirukkalukkunram. The text reads as follows:—"Sri Tirukkalukkunrattu Perumanadigalukku Kalattur Kottattu tan-kurru Tirukkalukkunrattu *Sri Malaimel Mulattanattu Perumanadigalukku valippattup puramaga Vatapikonda Narasingap* Pottarasar vaittadu" (65 of 1909).*

Thus, it is clear that this cave was a creation of the days of the Pallava kings Mahendravarman and Narasimhavarman, of the 7th century, that the deity was called the Mulasthanattup Perumanadigal *on the sacred hill* and that Narasimha I gave it an endowment for worship.

Next, there is a *structural* shrine at the top of this hill. This is called by the Government Epigraphists both *Tiruk-Kalukkunram Udaiya Nayanar* temple *on the sacred hill* and Vedagiri temple. The inner walls of the *garbhagriha* of this temple are made of three huge blocks of stone. On the inner side of these walls are carved many figures. On the west wall, there is a *Somaskanda* panel: Siva, Skanda and Parvati flanked by Brahma on the south and Vishnu on the north. Markandeya is sculptured at the feet of Siva.

On the north wall, we have the sculpture of *Medha-Dakshinamurti* and near Him the *Rishis* who are believed to be the cursed kites regularly visiting the hill.

On the south wall, there is the figure of Ardhanarisvarar.

* Vide also M.E.R. 1909 p. 15 and M.E.R. 1932-33, p. 55, para 5 for the estampage of the inscription : plate I against page 55.

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The existence of the *Somaskanda panel* and the presence of a lion pillar near about clearly establish that this stone structural temple should be ascribed to the period of Rajasimha *alias* Narasimhavarman II (A. D. 695-722 : early eighth century A.D.)

At the foot of the hill, we have a big temple called the *Bhaktavatsala* temple with extensive courtyards and walls of enclosure crowned with tall towers. At the entrance to the second *prakara*, there is an inscription of the 9th year of *Jatavarman Sundara Pandya* whose accession was in A.D. 1251. It records the sale of land by the *devakanmis* (Managers of the temple) of Adi-chandesvara of the temple of Udaiyar *Tirukkalukkunram Udaiya Nayanar at Tirukkalukkunram* to one of the royal officers of the Pandyan ruler towards the construction of the temple, flower gardens and for house sites round the shrine of the *linga* of "*Nayanar Ponnittisvaram Udaiyar Nayanar*", Whom he consecrated in this temple. This newly consecrated temple is the present *Bhaktavatsala* temple of the 13th century.

But the oldest inscriptions of this temple are found not on the walls of the central shrine of this temple which belongs to the 13th century, but on a structure now called the *Tiru-Abharana Kottadi* (strong-room) on the northern side of the second *prakara* of the Bhaktavatsala temple. This so-called 'strong-room' is a *roofless apsidal structure* with all the features of the *garbhagriha* of an ancient temple of the ninth century. The pilasters are plain. There are *niches* (*deva-koshtas*) containing Ganesa, Dakshinamurti, Vishnu, Brahma and Durga, all of them in their proper places as in a temple of the ninth century. In many respects, it resembles the later Pallava temple of Virattanesvarar at Tiruttani. There is also a frieze of *bhutaganas*. The cornice, the *griva*, the *sikhara* and the *stupi* are missing. All the oldest Chola inscriptions of this place are found on the walls of this 'temple.' They relate to the period from the 27th year of Aditya I (A.D. 898) to the 9th year of Rajadhiraja II (A.D. 1172), from the 9th to the

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12th century A.D, (pls. 102-103).

The most interesting and valuable inscription of them all is that of the *27th year of Aditya I* (167 of 1894). Here is the text:—" Svasti Sri Koviraja Kesari Varmarkku-yandu irupattelavadu Kalattur-Kottattu Kalattur-Kurrattu *Tirukkaluk-Kunrattu Sri Mulasthanattu perumanadigalukku* iraiyiliyaga *Skanda Sishyar* Kuduttamayil appadiye *Vatapi-Konda Narasimha Pottaraiyarum* apparisey rakshittamayil Anduraiyan Gunavan magan Pukkan vinnappattinal *purva rajakkal vaitta padiye vaithen Irajakesari pammanen* iddhar-mam rakshittan adi en mudi melana."

This inscription records the *second renewal*, by Rajakesari-varman (Aditya I), the conqueror of Tondaimandalam, in his 27th year of a grant originally made to the *Mulastha-nattup-perumanadigal* by an old Pallava ruler named *Skanda Sishya* (of about the fifth century) and already *renewed* by *Vatapikonda Narasinga Pottaraiyar*. The original *linga* which should have been consecrated in this temple—now the strong-room — is called Sri *Mulattanattup Peru-manadigal* of Tirukkalukkunram. This will make it clear that this original Siva temple is different from, and older than, the cave temple called *Orukal mandapa* situated midway on the hill, as the grant of renewal refers to an endowment to this deity by *Skanda Sishya*, a Pallava chief who is earlier than Vatapikonda Narashimha I. The *brick* structure of Skanda Sishya's days should have been re-built of stone *sometime before* the 27th year of Aditya I, and it should have been a temple facing the south. It is the oldest of all the temples in this place and one of the most ancient in South India known to epigraphy.

Even this temple seems to have suffered damage and undergone repairs as will be evident from the following note of the late V. V. Venkayya (Ep. Ind. III No. 38). " That part of the wall where the oldest of the inscriptions are inscribed (of Aditya I, Parantaka I and Kannaradeva) is disfigured by a number of mason's marks. These marks consist in most cases of Tamil numerals, engraved

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probably before attempting to pull down the wall with a view to repairing the temple. The numerals would indicate the order in which the stones had to be arranged while rebuilding the wall". This repair might have taken place at the time of the building of the Bhaktavatsala temple in the 13th century. The stones should have been so well rearranged as not to disturb either the *bhutagana* frieze under the cornice or the continuity of the inscriptions engraved on the walls of the *garbhagriha* of the old Mulasthana temple built in the days of Aditya I. A standing testimony to the meticulous care the ancient rulers took to preserve their monuments, respect their predecessors' commitments and preserve for posterity the history of their days !

About the identification of Skanda Sishya, the Pallava ruler, the Editor of the Velurpalaiyam plates (SII. II No. 99) writes:—

" *Vira Kurcha* married the daughter of a Naga chief. Their son Skanda Sishya seized from king Satyasena, the Ghatika.

" Skanda Sishya is perhaps identical with the Pallava king of the same name who is referred to in one of the Tirukkalukkunram inscriptions, as having made a gift to the holy temple of Mulasthana at the village. If Skanda Sishya is synoymonus with Skandavarman as suggested by Venkayya, we have to identify him with Skandavarman II, particularly because the two generations after him, supplied by the Velurpalaiyam plates, would in this case be the same as those found in the Chendalur plates of Kumaravishnu. "

V. Venkatasubba Ayyar considers it "more probable that Skanda Sishya mentioned in the Tirukkalukkunram inscription is identical with the chief Skandasena who excavated the Cave at Vallam. " Rightly, the Editor, C. R. Krishnamacharlu points out, "This identification is *not* quite convincing. "

Suffice it to say that Skanda Sishya was a Pallava chief

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of the 5th century A.D. and the Mulasthanam (i.e., the present strong-room in the Bhaktavatsala temple at the foot of the hill) was already in existence in his days, if it was not a foundation of his own.

The first wrong step in the identification of these temples was taken, unfortunately, by V. Venkayya. In Volume III of the Epigraphia Indica (pp. 276 ff) he writes:—"There are two temples, one in the village of Tirukkalukkunram called *Vedagirisvarar* and another named *Bhaktavatsala* on a neighbouring hill. Of the four sub-joined inscriptions which are engraved on the wall of the *strong room* (*tiru-abharana kottadi*) of the Vedagirisvarar temple, three were already published."

The temple on the top of the hill is that of Vedagirisvarar and that at the foot of the hill in the village is the Bhaktavatsala temple.

This initial mix-up is repeated in South Indian Inscriptions, Volume V (Nos. 460-469). The inscriptions on the "*strong-room*" *of the Bhaktavatsala* temple are wrongly mentioned to be "on the wall of the strong-room of the Vedagirisvara temple, Tirukkalukkunram, Chingleput Taluk and District."

The issue was further complicated and confused in the subsequent Epigraphical Reports of 1909 (pp. 75-76) and of 1932-33 (pp. 54 and 55, plate I). These errors have gained a new lease of life in later scholarly publications.

For the sake of clarity, my views can be restated as follows:—

1. *Tirumulasthanattup-Perumanadigal Temple.*

The present *Tiru-abharanakkottadi* (treasury room) within the 2nd *prakara* of the Bhaktavatsala temple at the foot of the hill:—

This is the oldest temple of this place, apsidal in shape but now without a roof. Its walls contain a number of Chola inscriptions. The earliest of them is one of Rajakesarivarman's 27th year (Aditya I: 167 of 1894). It relates

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to an original gift of Pallava Skanda Sishya to the Mulasthanattup-Perumanadigal, its renewal in the time of Pallava Narasimhavarman I *alias* Mamalla and its *second* renewal in the time of Aditya I after his conquest of Tondaimandalam. The other kings whose endowments are inscribed on the walls of this apsidal temple are Parantaka I, Kannaradeva, Rajendra I, Rajadhiraja I, Rajendra II, Vira Rajendra, Kulottunga I, Vikrama Chola and Rajadhiraja II, i. e., the inscriptions range from the last years of the 9th century to the middle of the 12th century A.D.

There is no mention of the Mulasthanattup-Perumanadigal after the 15th year of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1085). This temple was evidently abandoned in the 11th century. The reasons are not known (pls. 102–a, b; 103-a, b, c).

2. The *Orukal Mandapa* (Pallava Cave Temple) *alias Mulasthanattup-Perumanadigal on the sacred hill.*

This is a rock-cut cave temple. It is in Mahendravarman style, but completed perhaps in the days of Narasimhavarman I. The incomplete inscription of this Pallava ruler (Narasimhavarman I) calls this temple "Tirukkalukkunrattu *Sri Malaimel* Mulasthanap-Perumanadigal" i.e., *Mulasthana on the hill.* The prefix *malaimel* (i.e., on the hill) deserves to be noted. This temple is clearly different from the Mulasthana temple of Skanda Sishya's days housed in the present strong-room of the Bhaktavatsala temple.

3. Vedagirisvarar Temple or the temple of *Tirukkalukkunramudaiya Nayanar on the sacred hill* :

This is a structural temple of the days of Pallava Narasimha II *alias* Rajasimha, *not* Paramesvaravarman I. All Pallava temples with *Somaskanda* panels should be ascribed to the days of Narasimha II. This feature of the inclusion of the *Somaskanda* panel belongs exclusively to his period—neither before him nor after Nandivarman II. So it should have been built in the days of Narasimha II, not Paramesvaravarman I. This temple should not be confused either with that of Mulasthanattup-Perumanadigal referred to in

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the inscriptions of Aditya I (Tiru-abharana Kottadi in the *prakara* of the present Bhaktavatsala temple) or with the Mulasthanattup-Perumanadigal *on the sacred hill, alias* the cave temple of the *Orukal mandapa.*

4. *Bhaktavatsala Temple* at the foot of the hill :—

This is a new temple built in the days of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya (9th yr., A.D. 1260 : 188 of 1894) in the place of the old *Mulasthanap-Perumanadigal* temple of the days of *Skanda Sishya.*

A full discussion about the identification of these temples based on epigraphical evidence will be found in my articles in the Madras University Journal (Vol. XIV no. 1) and in Vol. XIV, Part IV, of the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.*

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* The late A. H. Longhurst (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 17 — Pallava Architecture — Part I pp. 20 and 21) wrote :—

" An inscription on the west wall of the strong room of the Vedagirisvara temple at Tirukkalukkunram which was published by the late Mr. Venkayya in Vol. III of the Epigraphia Indica (pp. 277-280) records the interesting fact of a second renewal by the Chola King Rajakesarivarman Aditya I of a grant originally made to the temple of Mulasthana by the Pallava king Skandasishya and renewed by Narasimhavarman I. In all probability, the *inscription in the Orukal Mandapa* is a record of the renewal by Narasimhavarman I of the gift to the *Mulasthana temple mentioned in the inscription of Rajakesari Varman.* It is, therefore, possible that the neglected *linga* shrine within the *Orukal mandapa* represents the original Mulasthana." Again he wrote :—

(p. 21) "The Vedagirisvara temple at the summit of the hill is a very ancient structure in spite of its somewhat modern appearance due to later additions."

Apart from mixing up the Vedagirisvara temple and the Bhaktavatsala temple, which Longhurst has done in blindly following Venkayya, it is incorrect to say that the neglected *linga* shrine within the Orukal Mandapa represents the original Mulasthana of Skandasishya's days.

In the descriptive notes on Tirukkalukkunram in the publication, " The Art of the Pallavas " by O. C. Gangoly and A. Goswami, the following passage occurs :

" There are *two excavated shrines* in the Vedagiri *hall* (hill ?). The lower cave known as the Orukal Mandapa (one-stone shrine ?) has a plain, unornamented facade. The inscription in the cave offers a problem. The record purports to refer to a renewal by a Chola king of the original grant made to the temple called the temple of Mulasthana by the Pallava King Skandasishya and later renewed by Narasimhavarman I. If Skandasishya stands for Skandavarman, one of the earliest kings of the dynasty (Chandalur plates), then the Mulasthana shrine must be one of the earliest Hindu temples in South India. "

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There are no *two* excavated shrines. The *Orukal Mandapa* is the only excavated cave temple. There is again the mixing up of the *two* inscriptions — one on the pillar of the Orukal Mandapa (Inscription of Narasimhavarman I) and the other of the Mulasthana temple (the strong-room of the Bhaktavatsala temple) of Skandasishya's days.

The views of K. R. Srinivasan on the Mulasthana shrine of Tirukkalukkunram in his article, in *Ancient India* No. 14, on the Pallava Architecture of South India are set out below :—

"The central shrine of the Vedagirisvara temple on the summit of the hillock in Tirukkalukkunram is built of three huge slabs of stone forming its inner walls with a roof slab on top. Externally, these dolmenoid orthostats are cased at present by the moulded stone work of later Chola times. Internally, the inner surfaces of the three slabs enclosing the Cella have on them the characteristic bas-relief sculpture of Somaskanda on the back wall and Dakshinamurti, Nandin, Chandikesvara etc. on the other walls, indicating the period of *Paramesvara*. This dolmenoid structure evidently replaced the brick and mortar *mulasthana* temple of Skandasishya Pallava, an early ancestor referred to in Mamalla's inscription in the cave temple below on the same hill. When Paramesvara constructed this temple, the extension of the sub-walls probably showed reliefs of pilasters etc., the mouldings of the basement, also, perhaps, the superstructure of the *Vimana* over the top slab being supplied by brick. Such constructions are known among the early temples of the Chalukyas also, who used slabs of sandstone in place of granite, a material which they always preferred" (p. 132).

Again on p. 137, he writes : "The apsidal south-facing shrine, now used as the temple treasury, is also an example of a late Pallava *gajaprishtakriti-vimana*, but its superstructure is lost. Judging from its simplicity, it was perhaps slightly earlier than the Virattanesvara temple and was probably built in the time of Nrpatunga."

Srinivasan is not correct in saying that Mamalla's inscription on the Orukal Cave temple refers to Skandasishya's grant. It is Aditya I's inscription on the apsidal structure inside the Bhaktavatsala temple at the foot of the hill that contains a reference to both Skandasishya's grant and its confirmation by Mamalla.

I am unable to agree with him that the temple of Vedagirisvarar on the top of the hill was a renewal of the brick and mortar Mulasthanam temple of Skanda Sishya and that it was built by Paramesvaravarman.

A similar error in identification is perpetrated by V. Venkatasubba Ayyar who persists in wrongly identifying the Orukal Mandapam, the cave temple on the hill, with Skanda Sishya's Mulasthanam (the temple of the Mulasthanap Perumanadigal). (See S.I.I. Vol. XII; The Pallavas — Introduction; pages II and III).

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Most of the Early Chola temples were structural stone temples (*karrali*). Some of the earlier brick temples were also rebuilt of stone. At Enadi we have a massive *eka-tala* (single-storeyed) stone temple. A *mandapa* (porch) resting on two stout stone pillars has been later added to it. Its prototype is the model shrine carved on the *Ganga-Avatarana* panel (or Arjuna's Penance) at Mamallapuram.

Vijayalaya

The best-preserved and the finest of *eka-tala* temples of Vijayalaya's age are the temples of Kaliyapatti, Viralur and Panangudi, which consist of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* with traces of a few subshrines.

But the grandest of this group and the most outstanding of all the early Chola temples is the Vijayalaya Cholisvaram at Narttamalai. It has a circular (*Omkara*) *mulasthana*, enshrining a cylindrical *Linga*, set within a square structure, a covered ambulatory (*pradakshina*); a four-storeyed *vimana* with a circular *griva* and crowned by a cupola-like *sikhara*. There is an *ardhamandapa* guarded at its entrance by two *dvarapalas* of fine workmanship having many Pallava features. Six out of the eight subshrines are in existence, each of which has a square sanctum with a bulbous *sikhara* and an open *mandapa* in front. There are traces of a *tiru-madil* (wall of enclosure) and a gateway.

In his recent book on Early Chola Bronzes, Douglas Barrett of the British Museum, London concedes that the broken but still splendid image of Nisumbhasudani found now in the Ugramahakali temple at Tanjavur might have belonged to the original temple built by Vijayalaya. He also accepts the identification of the Vijayalaya Cholisvaram at Narttamalai as a Vijayalaya foundation, though such

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identification is based on a 13th century Pandyan inscription. Describing it as 'unique in form', he holds that it represents a "more southern tradition". It is not clear to him what was involved in the "13th century restoration by Mallan Viduman". As his emphasis in this work is on sculpture, he is disposed to ignore "the several reasonable attributions of small shrines in the old Pudukkottai State to Vijayalaya's reign".

The restoration of the Vijayalaya Cholisvaram, in my opinion, took place in the 9th and not in the 13th century A. D. The age of Mallan Viduman, as fixed by me, is confirmed by another inscription found in this place on a rock north of the Arumaikkulam pond, "in archaic characters of about the 9th century A. D." (vide SII, XVII, No. 396, p. 169 : A. R. No. 366 of 1904, and No. 11 of the Text of "Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State"). This records the construction of a sluice for *animada eri* by Tamiladiyaraiyan Mallan Vidaman (a variant of Viduman) who should be identifiable with the rebuilder of Vijayalaya Cholisvaram. I am also unable to accept the suggestion of a "(more) southern tradition" without even a definition or indication of what this "tradition" is or proof in justification of this hypothesis. The place of origin of this "tradition", its main stylistic features and such of them as are found here but are not already in evolution in the Pallava and Chola country—these must be studied carefully before a final opinion on this question is arrived at.

Only a few temples of the days of Vijayalaya have come down to us, and most of them are found in the region round about the districts of Tanjavur and Tiruchy which formerly embraced the old princely State of Pudukkottai.

Aditya I.

The largest number of the Early Chola temples belong to the period of Aditya I (47 out of the 115 temples included in the Historical Survey.) We know that there should have existed at least an equal number of other temples

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of his age; but the inscriptional and other kinds of evidence in respect of them are lacking. Hence, they have been scrupulously avoided in this survey. But there is a lot of truth in the tradition of the *devaram* hymnists, which mentions the existence of 190 temples on both banks of the Kaveri during their age.

Among the temples of the days of Aditya I, the (Bala) Subrahmanya temple at *Kannanur* is in a class by itself. The deity called Skanda or Karttikeya in Northen India is called Murugan, Subrahmanya, Arumugan, Palaniyandi, Kumaran and Velan in Tamil nad. Sivaramamurti (" Royal conquests and cultural migrations ", p. 37) holds that the name *Subrahmanya* is a late creation and that it is unknown to South Indian Epigraphy. The main deity of this temple is called *Subrahmanya devar* in an unpublished inscription in this temple belonging to the reign of Aditya, 9th century A.D. (Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. XI. pt IV pp 315-320).

The *Agamas* describe temples dedicated to Subrahmanya both as a *Parivaradevata* (deity of a subsidiary shrine), and as the principal deity of the main shrine devoted to His worship. Such a temple with Subrahmanya as the chief deity is called a *Svayampradhana* temple. It may be a structure of one to seven storeys (*talas*) and it has to be provided with *prakaras* and *mandapas*. Images of *peacocks* or *elephants* are to be placed at the corners of the *vimana*. Eight guardian-deities (*Sarirapalakas*) and deities of sub-shrines (*Parivara devatas*) ranging from eight to thirty-two have to be set up.

In the Tamil land, such temples are called Kumarak-Kottams. Kumara is one of the many names of Subrahmanya. There are only a few *Svayampradhana* temples of Subrahmanya in South India besides those temples on hill-tops immortalised in the Tamil Sangam classic of *Tirumurugarruppadai* included in the *Pattupattu* (Ten Idylls).

The Kannanur (Bala) Subrahmanya temple is one of the earliest and most important of structural stone temples

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of the Chola period dedicated to the cult of Subrahmanya. It has the *elephant* as His vehicle—a rare feature in such temples of North or South India. It is an *ekatala* structure with a circular *griva* and bell-shaped *sikhara*.

The earliest temples of the days of Aditya I are at Tiruvenkadu, Tiruppalanam, Tirumayanam and Sendalai.

Tiruvenkadu was known in the past, according to local inscriptions, as *Nangur* which is now a famous neighbouring Vaishnavite centre, and the presiding deity of this temple is called *Tiruvenkattu devar*. In later times, the name of the deity became the name of the village. He is sung by the early *Nayanmars*. The present structure (now too undergoing repairs) seems to be a construction of the days of Rajaraja I. The earliest Chola inscription, of the *second* year of *Rajakesari-varman* alias *Peru-narkkilli Solar*, should refer to none other than Aditya I. And this inscription is found on a pillar planted to the north of the wall of the central shrine. So, from an architectural point of view, this *early* Chola temple need not receive our attention.

The temple of *Tiruppalanam* (2nd year) is another early Chola temple patronised by the queen and the king himself. There is an inscription of the *second* year of the king called "*Solap-perumanadigal Perunarkkilli Solar* ", similar to that at Tiruvenkadu. The king is said to have made a gift of 30 *kalanju* of gold for a perpetual lamp in the temple of *Mahadeva* (as the local deity is called) at Tiruppalanam. This temple, which has received many royal grants and endowments, is a typical temple of the early days of Aditya I. Unfortunately this temple has been renovated and has lost its pristine beauty; still it is valuable as a temple of such vast and rich associations.

There are two temples at *Nalur-Mayanam* about nine miles south-east of Kumbakonam. *Nalur* has a *madakkoyil* having an *apsidal* form, perhaps founded in the days of Parantaka I; but the neighbouring temple of Tirumayanam is an older and more interesting temple. It contains an

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inscription of the second regnal year of Rajakesarivarman who can be identified with Aditya I. Fortunately the old main structure is intact, though it is threatened with renovation by persons ignorant of the methods of scientific renovation. Here is a challenge to enlightened public opinion. It is an *ekatala* (single-storeyed) structural stone temple. Its *sikhara* is bulbous. The original temple consists of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*. There are *pancharas* on each side of the three *devakoshtas*.

Sendalai (2nd year): The Sundaresvara temple at *Sendalai* existed even before the days of Aditya I, perhaps as a brick structure. And the earliest Chola inscription on the stone walls of the main shrine is one of the second year of Rajakesarivarman who should be none other than Aditya I. Thus, it is clear that this temple should have been converted from a *brick* into a *stone* temple on or before the second year of Aditya I. According to the local inscriptions, the deity is called *Tirupperunturai Mahadeva* situated in the *brahmadeya* village of *Chandra-lekhai-chaturvedi-mangalam*, the ancient name of Sendalai.

This is a *karrali* (stone temple) with two *talas*. The *sikhara* is bulbous and later painted. The original temple consisted only of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*. There is a life-size statue of Brahma in the round kept in the roofed verandah of the south *prakara* close to the main shrine. The walls of the *garbhagriha* have no *devakoshta* (as in Vijalayacholisvaram). Some old sculptures of Brahma, Vishnu, Siva and Parvati of the 9th century were lying loose in the north *prakara* of the temple. Some of them have been removed to the Tanjavur Art Gallery.

Tirukkattalai: The temple of Sundaresvarar at Tirukkattalai should have been built as a stone temple on or before the *third* year of Aditya I. The deity is named the Perumanadigal of *Karkkurichi-Tirukkarrali*: the stone temple of the village of Karkkuruchi. The original temple consisted only of the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*. The plinth has plain mouldings. It is a *dvi-tala-karrali*

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(two-storeyed stone temple). It has a square curvilinear *sikhara* adorned with *kodikkarukku* (scroll decoration) at its edges. It has also a square stone *stupi* to match the *sikhara*.

This is a typical early Chola temple of the days of Aditya I, almost well-preserved and with old features reliable for scientific study. It has still seven out of the eight original subshrines for the *parivaradevatas*.

The *Tiruverumbur* temple is a typical early Aditya temple built before his *fourth* regnal year (114 of 1914), and one Tattan Sendi made, in the 19th year of Aditya I, an endowment for a lamp and offerings to " Aditya Bhattarar on the hill " whose temple she had built (118 of 1914 : no. 287 of SII, XIII) : *ivvur-tirumalaimel Aditya-Bhattararkku nan edippitta tirukkovil devarkku*.

The other donor who made great additions and improvements is *Velan Viranarayanan alias Sembiyan Vedi Velan* who figures in inscriptions (3rd to 7th year) of a certain Rajakesarivarman and who also claims to have built the *Sri Vimana* of Tiruverumbur Alvar.

The Pipilisvara temple at Tiruverumbur is a structural stone temple built on the hill-top and commands a picturesque natural scenery. The superstructure seems to be of a later age. The *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* are the oldest parts of the present structure. This is one of the finest of Aditya I's temples.

Koyiladi: Koyiladi was called *Tirupper* in the past. The Siva temple now called the Divyajnanesvara is also a temple of Aditya I's days. On the walls of the *garbhagriha*, I was able to discover, among other inscriptions, one of the fourth year of Rajakesarivarman, which seems to relate, on paleographical grounds, to Aditya I. There is Ardhanari in the western *devakoshta* and the other niche-figures are also the usual figures of Aditya I's age : Ganesa and Dakshinamurti on the south, and Brahma and Durga on the north side. There are traces of sub-shrines; and a fine sculpture of Subrahmanya belonging to a subshrine was found in

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the compound, and it is a good specimen of a sculpture of the 9th century. These will clearly establish that it is a temple built in Aditya I's days. As in Tiruverumbur, the same chief Sembiyan Vedi Velan claims to have built the *vimana* of this temple also. And this should be construed only as referring to improvements made in his time (281, 271 of 1901 and SII. VII, 495-501).

The Saptasthana Kshetra Group

5th yr. Tiruvaiyaru
8th yr. Tillaisthanam
11th yr. Tiruppunturutti
13th yr. Tiruchchorrutturai
19th yr. Tiruvedikudi
Tirukkandiyur

Tiruvaiyaru is the central temple of a group called the *Saptasthana Kshetras* (The seven sacred temples) which are knit together by the annual celebration of a common temple-festival to celebrate the wedding of Rishabhadeva. These temples include, besides *Tiruppalanam*, already discussed, and *Tiruvaiyaru*, the hub of the group, *Tillaisthanam*, *Tiruppunturutti*, *Tiruchchorrutturai*, *Tiruvedikudi*, and *Tirukkandiyur*.

The Panchanadisvara temple at Tiruvaiyaru is a *dvitala* structure with circular *griva* and *sikhara* (recently plastered and painted). The square *garbhagriha* is connected with the *ardhamandapa* by an *antarala*. The earliest inscription on the walls of the *garbhagriha* is one of the 5th year of Rajakesarivarman who should be identified with Aditya I (135 of 1918).

The plinth of the *garbhagriha* has lotus mouldings and *yali* frieze. The *devakoshta* sculptures are Dakshinamurti, (south), Ardhanari (west) and Brahma (north). There are two *dvarapalas* at the entrance to the *ardhamandapa*.

There is further up a *mukhamandapa*, formerly disengaged, but later connected with the *ardhamandapa* by gateways on the south and the north and bridged at the top by stone slabs to serve as the roof. There are a large number of inscriptions of Rajakesarivarman from his 12th to his 26th

* P. R. Srinivasan includes wrongly in this group, the temple of Tiru-Alampolil (see Lalit Kala — No. 5 p. 66).

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years on the south wall of this *mandapa*, and these can be attributed to Aditya I. So this detached *mukhamandapa* should belong to the days of Aditya I.

Tillaisthanam is another important temple of the *Saptasthana* group. There are in this temple two pre-Chola inscriptions of Pallava Nandivarman II (about A.D. 845) and of Pandyan Maranjadaiyan *alias* Varaguna Maharaja II (about A. D. 866), and they are found on the pillars at the entrance to this temple (51 and 52 of 1895). This clearly shows that the temple, as a brick structure, existed before the period of the Cholas and had enjoyed the homage of Pallava and Pandya kings during the period of their hegemony in South India.

But the present stone temple is a structure of the days of Aditya I, whose earliest inscription found here is one of his *eighth* year (A.D. 879) which records a gift of 20 *kalanju* of gold by Kannara deva, son of the Chola king Aditya I.

Another important inscription on the south wall of the *garbhagriha* (286 of 1911) describes the conquest of Tondainadu by Aditya I and his Chera ally Sthanu Ravi. Both of them conferred certain honours and privileges on one Vikki Annan, perhaps in recognition of his invaluable services to the king in his military campaigns.

One of the inscriptions is very interesting. It is said to have been inscribed on various parts of the temple structure and thus, incidentally, we get the names of the following parts: *ardhamandapa*, *namana mandapa* (bathing hall), *uttiram*, *podigai*, *kandam*, *jagati*, *pattigai* and *kumudam*. The names of halls, brackets and mouldings of basement found here are very important from the point of view of Dravidian Architectural nomenclature (31 of 1895). An inscription of the 14th year of Rajakesarivarman (Aditya I: 284 of 1911) mentions the construction of a *namana mandapa* (bathing hall) in this temple.

This is a *dvitala* temple with square *griva* and *sikhara*. The copper *stupi* is modern. The original Chola temple

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consists of the square *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*. The pilasters by the side of the niches are round and those at the ends octagonal. There is a *bhutagana* frieze below, and a *yali* frieze above, the cornice. The edges of the cornice have *kodikkarukku* ornamentation. The *kudus* which adorn the cornice have human heads in the centre. The second *tala* has the usual miniature shrines, *salas* and *kutas*. The *devakoshta* figures are Siva (Dakshinamurti) in the south, Vishnu in the west, and standing Brahma (single-headed) in the north.

This is another typical early Chola temple of Aditya I's days.

Tiruppunturutti is another of the *Saptasthana Kshetras*. The earliest inscription in this temple is one of the 11th year (300th day) of Rajakesarivarman (Aditya I). It relates to an endowment of 30 *kalanju* of gold for a perpetual lamp to be burnt in the temple of Tirutturutti Mahadeva, by Nangai Solapperumanar, the *bhogiyar* (mistress) of Solapperumanadigal. There are two more Rajakesari inscriptions whose dates are lost, and another of the 26th year of Rajakesari (94 of 1931) which can also be attributed to Aditya I.

This is an *ekatala prasada* with a square *garbhagriha* and *ardhamandapa*. It has a circular *griva* and a bulbous *sikhara*. There are two *dvarapalas* at the entrance to the *ardhamandapa*. The figures of the *devakoshtas* are Vinadhara Dakshinamurti (south), Ardhanari (west), and Bhikshatana (north)—not the usual Brahma.

Tiruchchorrutturai is yet another *Saptasthana* temple. The earliest inscription here is one of the 13th year of Rajakesarivarman (Aditya I, 163 of 1931). It relates to a gift for a lamp.

This is a *dvi-tala* temple with square *griva*, *sikhara* and *stupi*. The main shrine consists of a square *garbhagriha* and *ardhamandapa*. The deities of the three *devakoshtas* are all standing figures, perhaps meant to represent Siva, Vishnu, and Brahma.

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Tiruvedikudi is another *Saptasthana* temple. The earliest inscription here is one of the 19th year of Rajakesarivarman (Aditya I).

This is a *dvitala* structure with circular *griva* and *sikhara*. The existing original figures of the *devakoshtas* are Durga, Brahma and Ardhanari.

Tirukkandiyur : This Siva temple is also a temple of the *Saptasthana* group. Tirukkandiyur is one of the few centres in South India where we have independent structural temples for Siva, Vishnu and Brahma. It is also famous as one of the *eight* centres of Saivism, which are associated in popular belief with the heroic exploits of Siva. These places are called *Ashta Virattanams*. Here, Siva is supposed to have cut off the fifth head of Brahma.

This temple seems to have been in existence about A.D. 876 as there is on the north wall of this temple an inscription of the 21st year of the Pallava king Nrpatunga (which is equivalent to the 5th year of Aditya I). This is the earliest inscription in this temple. Whether it was a temple built by the Pallavas or the Cholas, we would not venture to say. In spite of dynastic differences, architectural features are determined by the prevalent style in the region and in the age. And the Virattanesvara temple resembles the Nagesvara temple at Kumbakonam and it should be considered a temple of the early period of the reign of Aditya I.

The Virattanesvara temple at Tirukkandiyur is a *dvitala* temple with a square *garbhagriha* and *ardhamandapa*, a *circular griva* and *sikhara*. It faces the west. Only the figures of *Brahma* in the northern niche of the *garbhagriha* and of *Bhikshatana* in a niche of the south wall of the *ardhamandapa* seem to be original figures. Perhaps the fine *seated Ardhanari* sculpture now found in the enclosed verandah in the eastern *prakara* is the original figure of the eastern (back) *devakoshta*, where a figure of Lingodbhava is now put in.

The second *tala* has the usual miniature shrines, *salas* and *kutas*.

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The presence of a life-size figure of Brahma in the round and the panels of miniature sculptures are other special features that deserve mention.*

Tirukkattuppalli and Nemam (*Niyamam*) : These two temples should also be assigned to the period of Aditya I. The Agnisvara temple at Tirukkattuppalli should have existed as a brick structure during the days of the *Devaram* hymnists, and should have been converted into a *karrali* in the days of Aditya I. On a slab built into the gateway of the outer gopuram, there is a fragmentary inscription of a Rajakesarivarman whose date is lost and which can on paleographical grounds be assigned to Aditya I.

The *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa* alone formed the original stone temple of Aditya I's days. The original *dvarapalas*, which once adorned the niches, now empty, on both sides of the entrance to the *ardhamandapa*, are now placed loose near them in view of the erection of a later *mandapa* in front of the *ardhamandapa*.

This is an *ekatala prasada* with a circular *griva* and *sikhara* (later covered with stucco). The *kumudam* and *yali* frieze in the basement, the typical pilasters with *kalasam*, *kumudam*, *palagai* and angular brackets, the frieze of *bhutaganas*, along with bulls, lions and *tigers* (Chola crest) below the cornice, the three *devakoshtas* on the walls of the *garbhagriha* with Dakshinamurti, Ardhanari and Brahma (not original sculptures), the fine original sculpture of Yoga Dakshinamurti found in a niche of the *griva*—all these features proclaim it a temple of the days of Aditya I. There are also an *early Chola* metal image of Bhogesvari and two bronzes of Nataraja.

* For P. R. Srinivasan's discussion on this temple, *vide* "Report of the Archaeological Society of South India", Vols. 1-3, 1955-58, and "Lalit Kala", No. 5. He holds that a *pit* around the temple, here and at a few others places (Nagesvara, Koranganatha and Pullamangai), is an architectural feature, in which view he seems to be supported by J. C. Harle, who writes: "both edifices, the *prasada* (*garbhagriha*) and the *ardhamandapa*, rise from a masonry pit" ("Oriental Art", New Series, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 96-108). This view does not appear to be correct.

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The Siva temple at *Nemam* contains an inscription of the 24th year of Rajakesarivarman (Aditya I). It is another *ekatala karrali* of this age.

The present temple of Sivalokanathasvamin at *Tiruvisalur* seems to be a temple rebuilt in the days of Parantaka I. This place became famous in later times on account of the royal patronage of Rajaraja I who performed *Tulabhara* and his queen *Hemagarbha* in this temple.

In the southern *prakara* of this fairly big temple, there is an abandoned shrine which is now used as a store room. It has *devakoshtas*, and in its eastern niche, there is a fine old sculpture of Vinadhara Dakshinamurti. This 'Old shrine' seems to be the ancient temple of the days of Aditya I.

Kilaiyur alias Mannu-Perumpaluvur is situated about a mile to the east of modern *Melappaluvur* on the main road from Tiruchy to Ariyalur. It has one of the finest of Aditya I's temples. This temple, with *twin* shrines erected side by side at about the same time, is called according to the local inscriptions *Avani-Kandarpa Isvaragriham.*

The temple faces the west and is entered by a *gopuram* of three *nilais* guarded by *dvarapalas* at its entrance as old as the main shrine. There is a wall of enclosure with subshrines only for four *parivara-devatas:* Ganapati, Saptamatrikas, Subrahmanya and Chandesvara.

The southern shrine now called Agastyesvaram is called in inscriptions *Ten-Vayil Sri-Koyil.* It is the main shrine and a *karrali.* It has a *garbhagriha*, an *ardhamandapa*, an *antarala*, a *mukhamandapa* with lion–pillars, originally detached, and a *nandi* in front.

The northern shrine now called Cholisvaram is called in inscriptions *Vada Vayil Sri Koyil* of *Avani Kandarpa Isvaram.* It is also a *dvi-tala karrali* with a *garbhagriha* and *ardhamandapa* guarded by *dvarapalas* at its entrance. The *devakoshta* figures are Brahma (north), seated Subrahmanya (east) and Dakshinamurti (south). The second *tala* has the usual miniature shrines. But unlike the southern shrine, this has a *circular sikhara* and *stupi.*

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Avani Kandarpa Isvaram at Kilaiyur (Mannu-Perum-Paluvur) is a gem among the early Chola temples, the most fully evolved and the best preserved of surviving temples of the days of Aditya I. The twin shrines with *two styles* of *sikhara—square* and *bulbous* and that side by side and contemporaneous, and with Subrahmanya as a deity of the *devakoshta* are unique features of this temple, not to speak of the lion-pillared *mukhamandapa* (See my book, Four Chola Temples : Heritage Series).

The *vimanas* of the temples of Malurpatna, Nandi, Narasamangalam and Kambadahalli, all in the modern Mysore State, have *sikharas* which are similar to those of Early Chola temples. The square *sikhara* of the Bhoganandisvara temple resembles that of Agastyesvaram at Kilaiyur. There is a Jaina *basti* at Kambadahalli consisting of five shrines; three of these are in a row (*Trikutachala*) and their *sikharas* are respectively square, bulbous and octagonal (pls. 104-109).

Koyil Devarayanpettai is a hamlet of Pandaravadai, a railway station on the Southern Railway.

Here was an early Chola temple, now dilapidated, in the centre of a Muslim village. An inscription of the 38th year of Parantaka I mentions a grant of the 17*th year* of *Rajakesarivarman* to the temple of *Tiruchchelur Parameswara*. Thereby the existence of a temple in the days of Aditya I sometime before his 17th year is established. An inscription of the 14th year of Rajakesarivarman, which could be assigned to Sundara Chola, refers to an endowment out of whose annual interest a prize of three *kasu* was to be awarded to the best reciter of certain prescribed portions of Jaiminiya Sama Veda.

Tiruvakkarai: This village is situated on the banks of the Varaha river, 12 miles from Villupuram. On the sides of the entrance to the central shrine, there are two inscriptions of the 19th and 26th years of Rajakesarivarman (Aditya I), but the old temple has been renovated in the days of Sembiyan Mahadevi, the mother of Uttama Chola.

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It has also suffered another renovation in recent times resulting in serious dislocation of the old monument and the sculptures in it.

At the entrance to the outer *gopuram*, there is a small shrine of Vakra-Kali, a *Saptamatrika* shrine, which may belong to the late Pallava or early Chola age.

Brahmadesam (20th year) near Cheyyar was a stronghold of the *Western Gangas.*

In the past it was called *Rajamalla Chaturvedimangalam* of Tiruvegambapuram. The Chandramoulisvaram temple contains two inscriptions, of the 20th and 27th years, of a Rajakesarivarman who may be identified with Aditya I (237 and 230 of 1915). Perhaps, about this time Pallava Kampavarman's rule in this region should have been overthrown by Aditya I, though its final conquest took place only during the days of Parantaka I.

This temple is a fine stone-temple, perhaps a Ganga foundation. It has two storeys above the *garbhagriha.* The upper *talas* have miniature shrines of the style of this age. *Bhutagana* and *yali* friezes, fine niche-figures in the upper (2nd) *tala* (*Nrsimha*), all point to the early Chola age (9th century). The *devakoshta* figures have been despoiled. A timely effort may still save this monument of such rich associations.

Ukkal: The Vishnu temple of *Bhuvanamanikka Vishnugriham* at Ukkal is a Pallava foundation of the days of Kampavarman, and the early Cholas have made valuable endowments to it.

The earliest Chola inscription here is not one of Vijayalaya's as Hultzsch held, but one of the 23rd year of Rajakesarivarman who is identical with Aditya I (19 of 1893, A.D. 894). It concerns an endowment of 200 *kalanju* of gold for feeding twelve Brahmans well-versed in the Vedas. As this temple contains an inscription of the 10th year (also one of the 15th year) of Kampavarman, it must have been in existence sometime before A.D. 888.

This temple is now a heap of ruins (put to the foulest

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ascesy. The basement with all the old Pallava and Chola inscriptions is still intact. With the old stone materials, it can be easily rebuilt, maintaining some of its old features.

The old temple of *Takkolam* might have been a Ganga-Chola foundation. The conquest of this region by the Chola king Aditya I is supported by the inscriptions of Aditya I in his 21st and 24th years. The second relates to a gift by the Ganga chief Prithivipati II (son of Maramarayan and grandson of Prithivipati I) to the Mahadeva of Tiruvural at Takkolam. By then, the Ganga chief Prithivipati II had become a Chola vassal.

In A.D. 949, it was here that the Chola crown-prince Rajaditya fought and fell in his war with the Rashtrakutas under Krishna III helped by Butuga II.

The original temple consists of a *garbhagriha* and an *ardhamandapa* with two *dvarapalas* at its entrance. The basement has a *yali* frieze. The *devakoshtas* have Dakshinamurti, Vishnu and Brahma on the main walls of this *garbhagriha*; and Ganesa, Durga and Ardhanari on the walls of the *ardhamandapa*. There is a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice which is adorned with *kudus* with human heads in the centre and circles at the edges.

Tiruvallam is on the *Niva* river, six miles south of Melpadi. Its ancient name was *Tikkali*, *Tikkali-Vallam* or Banapuram, the capital of the Banas.

The present temple of Bilvanathesvara was called in the early Bana inscriptions as the temple of *Ten-Tali-Tikkalip-perumanadigal* (the *southern* temple). There are some Bana inscriptions. Of them, the only one engraved on a slab built into the floor of the temple is original; the others are copies of old inscriptions re-inscribed on the walls of the temple after its renovation.

The earliest Chola inscription is one of the fourth year of Parantaka I, in whose time was built the shrine of *Nakulisa* in the northern *prakara* of the temple.

The temple of Tiruvallam is perhaps a *Bana* foundation rebuilt during the time of the Early Cholas. It has features

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of a *ninth* century temple, later further renovated sometime before the time of Rajaraja I.

The temple basement has plain mouldings. The oldest parts of the temple are the *garbhagriha*, the *antarala* and the *ardhamandapa*.

There are *devakoshtas* on the outer walls of the *garbhagriha* and the *antarala*. There are Ganesa, Dakshinamurti, Vishnu, Brahma and Durga in the *koshtas*. There are *panels of miniature sculptures*. The *devakoshtas* are adorned with *makara-toranas* at the top. Bas-relief pictures of Bhikshatana (over Brahma's panel) and Ravana-Anugrahamurti (over Durga's) adorn the centres of the *toranas*.

Greater was our surprise when we reached with the help of a ladder the *griva* and *sikhara* portion of the *vimana*. Fine ninth century sculptures of Indra (east), Vinadhara Dakshinamurti (south), Vishnu (west) and Brahma (north) as well as vigorous sculptures of *Bhutas*, one between each of the *koshta* figures of the *griva*, are to be found. The *sikhara* is octagonal (recently stuccoed); the *stupi* is modern.

Some early figures of Vishnu and Brahma, of exquisite workmanship, are found in the cloistered hall round the main shrine.

This is a Bana foundation renovated in early Chola times.

Tiruchchendurai has an early Chola (23rd year) stone temple called '*Tiruchchendurai-Karrali*'. There is an inscription of the 3rd year of Parakesarivarman (316 of 1902). This refers to the construction with stone of this temple of *Tiruchchendurai Karrali Perumanadigal*, described as being situated in the *brahmadeya* of Isanamangalam, by one *Pudi-Adicha Pidariyar*, daughter of Tennavan Ilangovelar and the consort of Arikula Kesariyar, son of Solap-Perumanadigal i. e. Parantaka I.

The editor of the South India Inscriptions (Vol. III, p. 218) holds that the inscription is to be ascribed to Parantaka I, and that this *temple was built of stone in the* 3rd

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year of Parantaka I. But it seems that the temple was built sometime on or before the 23rd year of Rajakesarivarman *alias* Aditya I.

The original Siva temple consists of a square *garbhagriha* and *ardhamandapa*. The plinth has *padma* and *kumudam* mouldings with a *yali* frieze above. There is a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice and a *yali* frieze above it.

It is a *dvitala* structure. The second *tala* has the usual miniature shrines. The *griva* is four-sided and the *sikhara* is square and curvilinear.

Instead of the usual *Dakshinamurti*, we have *Rshabhavahanadeva* in the south *devakoshta*. A modern Dakshinamurti is found placed in front of the old niche-figure; Vishnu and Brahma adorn the other niches.

Srinivasanallur (24th year) is on the north bank of the Kaveri, 6 miles from Musiri and about 30 miles from Tiruchy town.

There are two Siva temples, two Vishnu temples and a Mariyamman temple, all of the 9th and 10th centuries. But the most important of them all is the Koranganatha temple. There is a fabulous story that before its consecration, a monkey was found on its top, and so it was not consecrated. But there is unimpeachable epigraphic evidence that the temple was in enjoyment of worship for nearly 200 years from the days of Aditya I to those of Kulottunga I (till A.D. 1091). Hence this story is incredible.

According to the local inscriptions, the deity enshrined in this temple is called *Tiru-kurakkutturai Perumanadigal*; and the temple is said to be situated in the *brahmadeya* village of Mahendramangalam, the ancient name of Srinivasanallur called after the Pallava king Mahendravarman I after Pallava rule had been extended over this region. There is even now a village called Mahendramangalam on the borders of Srinivasanallur.

Hitherto, all scholars who have written about South Indian Temples have considered this as the best specimen

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of an Early Chola Temple and have classified it as a *temple of the days of Parantaka I.* It is passing strange that this wrong identification has persisted so long !*

Of the four inscriptions of *Rajakesarivarman* found in this temple, one of his *24th year* is engraved on the base of the south wall of the *ardhamandapa* (592 of 1904). Above this, there is an inscription of Parantaka I and another of Parantaka I next to it (591 and 593 of 1904). It has to be added that the *garbhagriha*, the *antarala* and the *ardhamandapa* form an integral part of the original foundation and are of the same period. Hence, the Koranganatha temple at Srinivasanallur should be considered a temple of the days of Aditya I, not of Parantaka I's. On the strength of the high regnal year and the paleography of the inscription, we can assign this inscription of the 24th year of Rajakesarivarman to Aditya I. I am glad to note that the Editor of South Indian Inscriptions: Text (Vol. XIII, The Cholas) agrees with this identification. "The alphabet of the inscriptions is early and hence the record may be referred to the time of Aditya I" (No. 306, No. 592 of 1904).

Alambakkam has another early Chola temple and it should have been a great centre of Pallava power under Dantivarman. It was called *Dantivarma-mangalam* and the local lake *Marpidugu eri* after his surname.

The Siva temple now called the Kailasanatha was called in the past, according to local inscriptions, Amaresvara Perumal temple. This seems to be a Pallava foundation rebuilt in the days of the early Cholas. The earliest Chola inscriptions are two of Parantaka I's (720 and 715 of 1909).

The *Selliyamman* temple situated close to the Siva temple is a *Kala-Pidari* temple, really a temple of the *Saptamatrikas.* It seems to be one of the few of the earliest in-

* See (1) "Indian Architecture" by Percy Brown p. 102.
(2) Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Volume II.
(3) "The Colas" by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Second Edition, p. 705.
(4) "Archaeological remains, monuments and museums", New Delhi. p. 229.

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dependent Saptamatrika temples in South India still enjoying the benefit of worship. A local inscription states that it was built by Irayar Alankarapriyan *alias* Tiru-Orriyuran. There is an inscription of the *25th year of Rajakesarivarman* (705 of 1909; SII. XIII No. 314) and it records a gift of land to the temple of the Saptamatrikas by the Assembly of Dantivarma-mangalam (Alambakkam). This inscription could be ascribed to Aditya I. So the existence of the Saptamatrika temple at least from the days of Aditya I is worthy of note.

There is also here a Vishnu temple, called in the past *Tiru-merrali-Perumal*, the modern Varadaraja Perumal temple.

The earliest Chola inscriptions on the walls of this temple are Parantaka I's. The temple has two fine sculptures of *Vishnu* and *Surya* but it has undergone renovation. Neither its original features nor the age of its foundation could be ascertained from the existing condition of the monument. It is a *madak-koyil.*

Lalgudy (27th year) is situated 13 miles from Tiruchy on the road to Ariyalur. Its ancient name was *Tiruttavatturai*, a place where the seven Rishis are said to have done penance and worshipped the Lord here to gain His grace. Hence, the temple is also called the *Saptarishisvara* temple.

There are two pre-Chola inscriptions, one of Nandivarman III (A.D. 857) and the other of Maran Sadaiyan *alias* Varaguna Maharaja (A.D 875). These inscriptions should have been re-engraved on the temple-walls after the reconstruction of this temple during the early Chola period.

The earliest Chola inscription seems to be an inscription of the *27th year of Rajakesarivarman* who should be identified with Aditya I (120 of 1929, A.D. 898). One of the two inscriptions of a Parakesarivarman (5th year, 117 of 1928-29) concerns a gift of gold by *Adigal Paluvettaraiyan Kumaran Maravan*, the same chief, who, in the 22nd year of Rajakesarivarman (Aditya I), makes a gift to the twin shrines of Avani Gandharva (Kandarpa) Isvaram at Kilaiyur

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alias Mannu Perum Paluvur. This Parakesari record should belong to Parantaka I.

The temple faces the west. This is an *ekatala* structure with a bulbous *sikhara* (recently plastered and painted).

The basement has a frieze of *yalis* and of elephants with riders.

There is a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice. *Kudus* without any figures in the centre adorn the cornice.

The figures of the *devakoshtas* are *Bhikshatana* in the north, *Ardhanari* in the east (back-side) and Vinadhara-Dakshinamurti in the south.

There are niche-figures in the *griva* also. They are *Brahma* in the north, Alingana-Murti of Siva in the east, and Dakshinamurti in the south.

The *ardhamandapa* is supported by four pillars decorated with *kumudam*, *idal* and *palagai*. The corbels have roll-ornament with a central band. There are two *dvarapalas* at the entrance to the *ardhamandapa*.

There is also a later *mukhamandapa*.

Tirukkalukkunram (27th year) has one of the most ancient and sacred Siva temples of South India.

The small structural shrine, now used as the *strong-room*, situated in the north side of the second *prakara* of the present Bhaktavatsala temple at the foot of the hill, is called in the inscriptions on its walls the *Tiru-mulasthanattup Perumanadigal Temple* of Tirukkalukkunram. This is the oldest temple in this place. It is an apsidal temple but now without its superstructure. The walls of this abandoned shrine contain a large number of inscriptions.

The most important of them is one of the 27th year of *Rajakesarivarman* (Aditya I, 167 of 1894). It relates to an original gift of Pallava Skandasishya to the Mulasthanattup-Perumanadigal, its renewal in the time of Pallava Narasimhavarman I *alias* Mamalla and its *second* renewal in the time of Aditya I after his conquest of Tondaimandalam.

There is no mention of the Mulasthanattup Perumanadigal after the 15th year of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1085). This

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temple seems to have been abandoned in the 11th century. The reason is not known.

At the time this book was in press, " Cave-temples of the Pallavas " by K. R. Srinivasan of the Archaeological Survey of India was published. His views on Tirukkalukkunram (pp. 100-107) are stated below : " The temple and the God on the top of the hill are praised by the three Saiva saints in their hymns. In one of his hymns, Appar mentions ' the God on the top of the hill ', referring thereby to the present Vedagirisvara which existed even from earlier times. It must have been replaced by a slab-megalithic type construction in the time of Paramesvaravarman I. The original brick or timber temple had received a land-gift from a former Pallava monarch Skandasishya. Narasimhavarman I obviously confirmed the gift to the already existing temple recorded originally on copper plates or cadjan leaf; and, in order to perpetuate it, had it inscribed on stone in the cave-temple that he had excavated a little below the summit, and in doing so made his own temple a joint beneficiary. Narasimha I's inscription in the *orukal-mandapa* refers to *two* temples — his own cave-temple called (in *ll.* 1-2) ' Tirukkalukkunrap-Perumanadigal ' and the ' Sri Malaimel Mulasthanattup-Perumanadigal ' (*ll.* 4-6) on the top of the hill. The inscription of Aditya I on the walls of the strong room in the Bhaktavatsala temple was evidently a confirmation of the acts of both the earlier royal donors, and it was engraved in the earliest stone-temple at the foot of the hill extant in his time — the apsidal later Pallava shrine now converted into a strong room. "

I am unable to agree with this interpretation and reconstruction. My reactions and conclusions are as follows :

Tirukkalukkunram is the name of both the hill and the town at its foot. The three Nayanmars refer only to the ' Lord Who resides at Tirukkalukkunram '. However, Appar in one of his songs mentions ' the Lord who dwells on the top of the hill ' (*Kalukkunrattu-uchiyai-kadavule*). So it is clear that the crest of the hill itself was considered as

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the abode of God, and the existence of a structural temple on the hill-top is not necessarily implied.

It has to be presumed that inscriptions on the walls or pillars of a particular shrine must relate to *that* shrine, unless otherwise specially stated. I do not agree with the view that there was only *one* gift, the original gift of the Pallava king Skandasishya, and this alone is mentioned in *both* the inscriptions of Narasimha I's in the *orukal-mandapa* and that of the Chola king Aditya I on the walls of the strong-room of the Bhaktavatsala temple. The two inscriptions represent separate gifts, each referring to a gift to the temple in which it is found, though a description of the land-gift made is not given in either of them. There is no inscription on the walls of, or on the face of the hill close to, the shrine at the top of the hill. The *orukal-mandapa* inscription of Vatapi-konda Narasimhavarman I relates only to his gift to the deity in that cave temple. The first two lines of this inscription merely mention the Lord of Tirukkalukkunram in general terms and lines 3-6 specify the deity in detail by naming Him the Lord of *Sri Mulasthana on the hill.* If *two* deities were meant, the conjunctive ending *-um* would have been used at the end of each of the corresponding names.

What is now the strong-room in the Bhaktavatsala temple at the foot of the hill has all the features of a temple — later Pallava or early Chola—similar in style to the Virattanesvara temple at Tiruttani. It is the inscription of the 27th year of Aditya I that mentions the temple of *Sri Mulasthanap-Perumanadigal* at Tirukkalukkunram. It was the original deity of this temple that received the homage and the land-gift of Skandasishya of the pre-Mahendravarman I period. This early Pallava grant was confirmed by Pallava Narasimhavarman I, and later by the Chola Aditya I after the latter's conquest of Tondaimandalam. This deity alone has the earliest inscriptional reference to "Sri Mulasthanap-Perumanadigal of Tirukkalukkunram" and this reference is earlier than the literary reference furnished by Appar — the contemporary of Mahendravarman I.

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The present strong-room was once an apsidal temple facing the south. Though it has been reconstructed and has lost its roof, it has on its walls five *devakoshtas* with their original deities, with stylistic features characteristic of the 9th century. Its walls also contain inscriptions from the days of the early Chola king Aditya I to those of the later Chola ruler Rajadhiraja II (9th to 12th century A. D.).

The present temple on the top of the hill is a structural temple belonging to the age of Rajasimha Pallava *alias* Narasimha II, and *not* of the days of Paramesvaravarman I. The latter attribution is based on the wrong assignment by Hultzsch of the Dharmaraja and Ganesa *rathas* of Mamallapuram to Paramesvaravarman I, which I have discussed and corrected in my article in No. 11 of *Lalit Kala.*

A full discussion by me of the temples of Tirukkalukkunram will be found in Vol. XIV, No. 1 of the Journal of the Madras University.

At my request, my friend R. Nagaswamy re-visited the temple on the top of the hill at Tirukkalukkunram, and prepared the following note based on it; it will establish that the Vedagiri temple on the top of the hill is a structural temple of the period of Rajasimha.

Note by R. Nagaswamy

The temple on the top of the hill is a structural stone temple. On the wall of the *garbhagriha*, behind the Sivalinga, there is a Somaskanda panel, similar to sculptures of Rajasimha's age. Siva has four hands, and in one of his right arms he holds a hooded cobra. Skanda is seated on the lap of Uma. Below the seat is represented a devotee. Brahma is on the proper right and Vishnu on the left. This panel resembles the Somaskanda panel carved in the central shrine of the Mahishasura-mardini cave at Mamallapuram. While the bull is represented below the seat at Mamallapuram, it is absent at Tirukkalukkunram.

The panel on the north wall, facing south, represents Siva as Medha-Dakshinamurti, with four arms, holding *aksha-*

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mala and *kundika* in the upper pair of arms and the *dhyana-* and *abhaya mudras* in the lower arms. He is seated on a high pedestal. At the top of the panel, two female *chauri-*bearers are represented, flanking the main deity.

On the south wall, facing north, is a fine sculpture of Ardhanari, seated majestically on a bull in *ardha-paryanka asana* pose. A broad *yogapatta* goes round the left leg. He holds a *vina* vertically on the upper left arm, whose top is adorned with a three-headed cobra. The lower left arm is placed on the left knee. The upper right arm holds the *trisula* across the body at the back. The lower right arm holds an instrument vertically, also crowned by a single-hooded cobra. On the right side is *jatamakuta* and on the left the hair is braided. These three panels are over seven feet in height and retain the original splendour of Pallava art.

The three outer walls of the *garbhagriha* contain diminutive figures of those found on the inner walls of the *garbhagriha*. Only, Ardhanari holds the *vina* across the body, unlike in the inner panel.

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12 Conclusion

Aditya Style

In my earlier book, "Four Chola Temples", I have stated why I prefer to define as 'Early Chola' the period covering the reigns of the Chola rulers of the Vijayalaya House of Tanjavur from the accession of Vijayalaya to that of Rajaraja I, i. e., the period A. D. 850 to 985.

However, Douglas Barrett, in his book on Early Chola Bronzes, defines the 'Early Chola Period' as one lasting from the accession of Vijayalaya to the death of Rajaraja I (A. D. 850 to 1014). According to him, the classical movement both in bronze and in stone sculpture, the period of most original achievement, lasted little more than a century and a half from about A. D. 850; good and admirable sculptures were no doubt produced in the Middle and Late Chola periods, but they were rarely *great* things. But he himself admits that this virile movement was very much in evidence beyond A. D. 1014. The Karttikeya of Gangaikonda Cholapuram (c. A. D. 1030), the Nataraja of Tiruvalangadu now in the Madras Museum, and the Bhikshatana and Ardhanari of Tiruvengadu origin are also great things to be classed with the bronzes of Konerirajapuram of Sembiyan Mahadevi's creation. This splendid bronze tradition is carried on to the middle of the 11th century (A. D. 1014 to 1048) covering the reigns of Rajendra I and Rajadhiraja I. It can be stated that no definitive and thoroughly satisfactory dividing line can be drawn between one period and another in matters of art. Yet it seems reasonable to assume that the accession of Rajaraja I marks an epoch, from many points of view, and the Early Chola Age may well be taken to end with that.

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K. A. Nilakanta Sastri calls the period of the reigns of the first two Chola kings, Vijayalaya and Aditya I, as a period of transition from Pallava to Chola art, and the rest of the period up to the accession of Rajaraja I a more pronounced Chola phase.

Barrett would further divide his 'Early Chola Period' into three phases, the first covering the period from A. D. 850 to 940 (in the middle of the reign of Parantaka I), the second from A. D. 940 to 970, and the third from A. D. 970 to 1014. He holds also that the style prevalent in what he calls the heart-land of the Chola empire — the present Tanjavur and Tiruchirapalli Districts — is slightly different from what prevailed in its border areas. Now, it has to be borne in mind that along with the expansion of the empire, the stylistic features also spread from the capital to the outlying areas. We are not sure whether Erumbur, Gramam and Tirunamanallur followed a tradition different from that prevalent in the heart-land of the Chola empire. We must allow for some minor variations due to local idiom.

Barrett claims that the temple at Tiruvavaduturai is the most advanced of the temples of Parantaka I and is the forerunner of (his) Phase II. This view is based on the existence of the 'false *antarala*' and of Agastya's sculpture in its niche. The Gomuktisvara temple at Tiruvavaduturai contains a wealth of epigraphical information. Two gifts in the 2nd year of Parakesarivarman who may be identified with Parantaka I are recorded on the south wall of its *garbhagriha*. One Karrali Pichchan figures as a great donor and builder. His inscriptions range from the 3rd year to the 39th year of Parantaka I. In an inscription of the 25th year of Parantaka I, he claims to have been the builder of the temple. An inscription of the 38th year states that the king himself gave a gift of 500 *kalanju* of gold for the completion of the temple from the *kudappadai* upwards. Barrett agrees with a suggestion of the Government Epigraphist that the term *kudappadai* might be a mistake for *kumudappadai*. The reading itself is clear and free from doubt, and I hesitate to accept this

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emendation. It seems to me that Karrali Pichchan might have been an influential courtier and the king only helped to complete the temple-complex. From the very beginning of the construction, one plan-design must have been adopted, and the suggestion that it was suddenly changed in the 38th regnal year of Parantaka I to usher in 'Phase II' is far-fetched. We have epigraphical evidence mentioning the building of various parts of the temple-structure at Tiruvilakkudi (Tiruvelvikkudi) by different donors with their names inscribed on stone, on or close to the respective parts for which they were responsible. We have therefore to await further discoveries and investigations before rejecting such indisputably clear inscriptional records.

The art of temple-building was never static, but was ever in a state of dynamic development throughout the Chola period; and new stylistic features make their appearance in almost every reign. The Vijayalaya Cholisvaram is a unique monument of Vijayalaya's reign; the Avani-kandarpa Isvaragriham at Kilaiyur (Melappaluvur) is a type by itself; the earliest double-storeyed *garbhagriha* is found in the Koranganatha temple at Srinivasanallur, and it is its fuller development that is seen at Tanjavur and Gangaikonda Cholapuram; *vimana-devatas* in the round, of fine workmanship, can be seen in the Nagesvara temple at Kumbakonam as well as in the Koranganatha temple at Srinivasanallur; and all these changes take place within the reign of Aditya I itself. The site-plan of the Tiruvavaduturai temple is found copied in the temples of Tiruvisalur, Kilur (Virattanesvara) and Tiruvakkarai. The Naltunai Isvaram at Punjai is only an extension of these features. It may be mentioned that Barrett himself admits that "it would seem that Punjai, like Tiruvavaduturai, was one of the experiments leading up to the fully developed iconographic lay-out of Koneri-rajapuram" and that at Punjai, "though the walls are articulated, there is no 'false *antarala*' between the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*". This will only reinforce our view that architectural style was then in a state of flux and in an

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experimental stage. Further, none of these minor developments or emendations must be considered so pronounced and important as to justify the postulation that a new phase began to evolve in the middle of the reign of Parantaka I (in A. D. 940). It seems to me that such a view also contradicts Barrett's own statement (on page 4 of his book) that he would call "the art of the first three reigns Phase I, or, in compliment to the king responsible for the great period of building activity, the *Aditya I phase*".

When the style of any sculpture does not fit into the pattern of preconceived and imperfectly deduced ideas of stylistic features of a particular period, it is sought to be explained away (as in the case of another unique temple, the Muvarkoyil of Kodumbalur with its triple *vimana*) as a late lingering of Phase I style of art, "out of the main stream of development near the Chola court" (p. 11, *op. cit.*).

In the light of the above discussion, it does not appear that a valid case has been made out for enunciating a second phase of Early Chola Art from A. D. 940 to 970. I am inclined to be satisfied with the division of Early Chola Art into two phases — the *Aditya I phase* (A. D. 850 to 955) covering the reigns of the first three kings, and the *Sembiyan phase* (A. D. 955 to 985) covering the reigns of the other rulers up to the accession of Rajaraja I.

From the point of view of evolution of style, there does not seem to be any radical departure in the days of Parantaka I (whose contribution to Art will be considered in the next volume) from that prevalent in the days of Aditya I; we shall therefore consider below the chief features of architectural and sculptural style developed during the period of the first three Chola rulers, which we shall term the 'Aditya style'.

The Chola temples of this period are generally stone-temples (*karrali*). Many brick temples of an earlier period were reconstructed of stone. They were humble structures of one to four *talas* followed up by *griva*, *sikhara* and *stupi*. The *sikhara* is square, circular or octagonal. The plinth

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is of simple mouldings, and sometimes has lotus-(*padma-*) mouldings and friezes of *yalis* and of elephants with riders.

The *garbhagriha* is generally a square, with an *ardha-mandapa* attached to it. Sometimes an *antarala* (vestibule) is introduced between the *garbhagriha* and the *ardhamandapa*, and sometimes between the *ardhamandapa* and the *mukha-mandapa*. There are also instances of detached *mukha-mandapas* later connected with the main shrine as at Kilaiyur and at Tiruvaiyaru. There are also a few temples with *vimanas* of the apsidal type.

The *devakoshtas* vary in number from three to five, and variations in the deities occupying them appear from the very beginning of the period. The Vijayalaya Cholisvaram has no *devakoshtas*; there is a sculpture of Bhikshatana instead of the usual Brahma in the northern niche of the Viralur temple; certain other variations are given below: Tripurantaka in the southern niche at Tirukkattalai; Subrahmanya seated in one and standing in the other of the eastern niches of the twin shrines at Kilaiyur (Avani Kandarpa Isvaragriham); Harihara in the western niche at Tiruverumbur; standing Ardhanari in the western niche of the Nagesvara temple at Kumbakonam; Lingodbhava in the western niche of the Tirukkattalai temple; Rishabhavahana in the southern niche of the Tiruch-chendurai temple; and Bhikshatana in the northern niche at Lalgudy.

Generally, for the niche at the back of the sanctum, Ardhanari is favoured instead of Vishnu, in the days of Aditya I, and Lingodbhava is preferred in the days of Parantaka I. The temples at Nangavaram and at Gramam continue the old practice of installing Vishnu in the back niche.

There are usually *makara-toranas* over the *devakoshtas*, encircling beautiful sculptures. There is a *bhutagana* frieze below the cornice (sometimes a swan-frieze in its stead, as at Kilaiyur), and a *yali*-frieze above it. The cornice is adorned with *kudus*. The *kudus* have human heads, swans, etc. within, and *simha*-heads at the top. Circles adorn the

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edges of the cornice, and *kodikkarukku* ornamentations at the corners.

In the *talas* over the *garbhagriha*, there are miniature shrines — *salas* and *kutas* with niche-figures to adorn the facade.

There were eight sub-shrines for the *parivara-devatas*: traces of all the eight are to be found in the temples of Vijayalaya Cholisvaram, Tirukkattalai, Kilaiyur and Kodumbalur Tiru-Muchukundisvaram.

Panels of miniature sculptures adorn the basement below the pilasters and the bases of the *devakoshtas* as in the temples of Nagesvara at Kumbakonam, Kilur, Tirukkandiyur and Takkolam.

From the time of Parantaka I, metal images of the goddess, called Uma Bhattariar, came to be installed in Siva temples, and were housed in the *antarala* or in the *ardha-mandapa*. These images are also called Bhogesvari and are generally the oldest metal images of the goddess. No independent *Amman* shrines are found in the Early Chola period.

In these ancient temples, we also have walls of enclosure covering all the parts of the temples including the *bali-pitham*, the *dhvajastambha* and the *Nandi-mandapa*. The entrance to the temple (*gopuram*) has a tower of moderate height, with *dvarapalas* on either side of it as guardian deities of the temple. The temple of Avani Kandarpa Isvaragriham at Kilaiyur is the best of these well-preserved Early Chola temples with all the component parts still intact.

Most of the Early Chola temples had their own distinct *sthala-vrksha* (Sacred Tree) and holy tank (Tiruk-kulam or Pushkarani) adjacent to the premises of the temple.

The great building activities of the age of Aditya I continued in that of Parantaka I, and in his time a few experiments in evolving new features in temple-building were attempted. But a new distinctive style as such, both in architecture and in sculpture — chiefly in metal-casting, (which will be discussed in the next volume), came into being (only) in the

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grand epoch of Sembiyan Mahadevi, one of the finest flowers of Indian womanhood and among the greatest of Chola queens, who has left a deep impress on contemporary art and culture and has been an inspiration to succeeding generations of lovers of art.

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Glossary of Technical Terms

abhanga	slight flexion.
abhaya-mudra	hand-pose assuring protection.
adhishthana	moulded basement usually resting on an *upa-pitha* (optional): for names of mouldings, refer to Tillaisthanam inscription 31 of 1895.
ahuyavarada-mudra	hand-pose beckoning the devotee to confer boons on him.
akshamala	rosary.
antara-bhitti	inner wall.
antarala or (sukhanasi)	vestibule.
antariya	lower garment.
ardha-mandapa	front porch (also, *tiru-idaik-kattu* : Gandaradittam inscription 202 of 1928-29, or *navaranga*).
ardha-paryanka	seated with both legs on the seat, one raised up and the other bent.
ardhoraka	shorts.
bahya-bhitti	outer wall.
baji-bandha	an ornament (a string of beads) encircling the arm at the elbow.
bali-pitha(m)	altar for offerings to deities.
bha-mandala	halo.
bhramaraka	ringlets of hair.
bhujanga-valaya	ornament on waist in the form of a coiled snake.
channavira	decorated cross-belt over the breast.
chaturam	square section of a pillar (cubique).
damaru	hand-drum.
danda	stick.
danda-hasta	hand held straight like a stick.
devakoshta	niche for subordinate deities (their occupants are called *vimana-devatas* — *parsva-devatas* in Kalinga).
dhoti	cloth over the waist.
divya-mandapa	hall supported by between 108 and 1008 pillars.
dvara	*gopuram*, temple-gateway.
Kinds : sobha-dvara :	gopuram with 1 to 2 storeys (*nilais*).
sala-dvara :	—do— 2 to 4 —do—
prasada-dvara :	—do— 3 to 5 —do—
harmya-dvara :	—do— 5 to 7 —do—
maha-maryada or maha-gopura :	—do— 7 to 16 —do—

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dvarapala	guardian-deity at the door or gateway.
dvara-sakhas	jambs.
ekavali	one-stringed big necklace of pearls.
gada	mace, stout stick.
gana	a dwarf-attendant of Siva.
garbhagriha (mulasthana)	the sanctum sanctorum.
ghana-dvara	false door adorned with *toranas*.
gopuram	temple-gateway : see *dvara*.
gomukha	gargoyle.
graiveya	jewelled necklet.
griva	literally, neck : part between the top-most *tala* of the *vimana* and the *sikhara*.
hara	necklace, garland.
hamsa-bandhana	swan-frieze.
jagati	basement-moulding.
janghika	loin-cloth.
jata	lock of hair.
jatabhara	heavy mass of locks of hair.
jata-mandala	outspread circle of locks of hair.
jata-makuta	crown of locks of hair.
kal (kambam, stambham)	pillar : see *stambham*.
kalasam	pot-shaped component of the capital of a pillar.
kalyana-mandapa	hall for the celebration of a divine-wedding festival.
kampu	a basement-moulding.
kandam	a basement-moulding.
kapotam	See *kudu* : originally a term applied to the *kudu*, but later equated with the cornice by some writers.
karanda	casket.
karanda-makuta	casket-like head-gear or crown.
kari-hasta	danda-hasta.
karna-veshtana	ear-ornament.
kati-sutra	waist-band.
kattu	prismatic section of a pillar.
katyavalambita	pose in which the hand is held straight below the hip.
keyura	armlet.
kinkini-jala	chain of bells.
kirita	crown.
kodik-karukku	foliage-decoration (especially over the edges of the *sikkara* or *kodungai*).
kodungai	cornice, moulded projection over a *tala*.
koshta	niche.
koshta-panjara (-panchara)	niche with cage-motif decoration.

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kshudra-mandapa	hall resting on between 4 and 28 pillars.
kucha-bandha	breast-band.
kumbha-panjara	niche adorned by a vase and foliage.
kundala	ear ornament (of various kinds such as *makara-*, *preta-*, *patra-* and *naga-*).
kudu	*chaitya*-window motif (horse-shoe-shaped decorative element on the facade of a monument).
kudya-stambha	pilaster.
kumudam	a basement-moulding.
kuta(m)	square ornamental pavilion on the storeys of *vimanas*: see *sala(i)* and *nasi*.
madhya-nadi	interspace between walls.
maha-mandapa	hall in front of the mukha-mandapa.
maha-maryada or maha-gopura	main temple-gateway with 7 to 16 storeys.
maharajalila	seated pose of ease like a king, with the right hand resting on the knee of the bent right leg.
makara	motif of a crocodile with floriated tail.
makuta	crown.
mandala	halo.
mandapa	pillared hall.
manimala	string of beads.
mauktika-jalaka	pearl-festoons.
mekhala	broad girdle.
mr(i)ga	deer.
mukha-mandapa	hall in front of the *ardha-mandapa*.
mukha-yama	facade.
mulasthana (garbhagriha)	the sanctum sanctorum.
naga-bandha	a section having a frieze of *nagas* (cf. *hamsa-bandhana*).
nasi	interspace between *sala* and *kuta* in the *talas* of the *vimana*.
nilai	storey of a *gopura*.
nritta-mandapa	hall of dance.
nupura	anklet.
pada-pitha	foot-stool.
padasara	ornament round the ankles.
padma-bandha	lotus-frieze.
padmasana	lotus-pose : pose of ease with the legs crossed and the soles turned up.
palagai	abacus or tailloir : part of the capital of a pillar.
paryanka-bandha	legs bound with a strap in a yogic pose.
panchara (panjara)	attique : a small pavilion (like a nest or cage) used as a decorative motif.
pasa	noose.

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Agamic	flag.
(ashta-) parivaralaya or (ashta-) parivara-devata-griham.	one of the sub-shrines round the main shrine, housing subordinate deities.
patra-kundala	ear-ornament in the form of a leaf-scroll.
pattigai	a basement-moulding.
pediment	triangular part crowning the front of a building.
potika	corbel or bracket surmounting the capital of a pillar.
prabhavali	arch with tongues of flame.
prakara	one of the circuits round the sanctum. Generally, there are five *prakaras* : *antara-mandala, antara-hara, madhya-hara, bahya-hara* and *maryada.* (The temple at Srirangam has seven *prakaras*).
prasada	temple in general. Classifications according to shape : *sama-chaturasra, vritta, chaturdirgha, hasti-prishtha, vrittayata, shatkona* and *ashtasra* (respectively, square, circular, rectangular, apsidal, elliptical, hexagonal and octagonal).
prastara	entablature : part of an order above the column including the architrave, frieze and cornice.
prayoga-chakra	discus in action.
rudraksha	beads or a garland thereof.
sadharana-mandapa	hall resting on between 28 and 100 pillars.
sala(i)	rectangular ornamental *panchara* with wagon-roof, on the storeys of *vimanas* (see *kuta* and *nasi*).
sarpa-kundala	serpent-shaped ear-ornament.
sikhara	(toit) : top-covering of the *vimana*, above the *griva*; of various shapes such as square, bulbous, octagonal and wagon-roof.
sirastraka	turban.
siraschakra	decorative ornament like a wheel behind the head (lotus, wheel or *simha-mukha* forms).
snapana-mandapa	hall for the ceremonial bath of deities.
stambha	pillar. According to Isanasivagurudeva Misra (as quoted in the "Tantra-samuchchaya" of Narayana), the five parts of a pillar from the bottom up are : *oma, ghata, mandi, virakanda* and *potika.*

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According to the Tamil tradition, the parts of a pillar from the bottom up are: *vari, kal, padma-bandham, kalasam, tadi, kumbham, idal, palagai, potikai, uttiram* and *kapotam.*

sthana-hara — necklet touching the breasts.

stupi — finial : pot-shaped crowning element over the *vimana* or *gopuram.*

tali — shrine.

tatanka-chakra — circular ear-ornament.

tiruch-churru-maligai — peristyle : enclosure-wall with a *mandapa.*

tiru-idaik-kattu — *ardha-mandapa* or vestibule (refer to the Gandaradittam inscription 202 of 1928-29).

tiru-nadai-maligai — covered *mandapa* round the sanctum (refer to the Konerirajapuram inscription 660 of 1908-09).

tri-bhanga — triple flexion.

udara-bandha — waist-band.

upanam — the lowest moulding of the basement.

upa-pitham — the basement below the *adhishtanam.*

H. D. Smith, in his edition of "Pancharatra Prasada-prasadhanam" (Chapters 1 to 10 of "Padmasamhita"), remarks that Chapter 7 thereof "does not even use the terms *upapitha* and *adhishthana* carefully ... and there are far too many variant readings to afford any certain reading of the text by technicians."

On the other hand, Narayana's "Tantra-samuchchaya" clearly states : "The six main parts of the temple are : *adhishthana* (basement), *pada* (foot or pillar), *prastara* (entablature), *gala* (ceiling), *sikhara* (roofing) and *stupika* (finial) ... *Upapitha* and *padma* (or *padma-paduka*) are two other parts of the structure to be constructed beneath the *adhishthana,* but they are *optional* ... These parts give stability and beauty to the building ... The *upapitha* has got its own *angas* (parts) just like the *adhishthana.*"

Jouveau-Dubreuil uses the term *upapitha* to denote the part which Narayana names *adhishthana.*

urdhva-pattika — lintel : see *uttiram.*

uttariya — upper garment.

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uttara	cross beam.
vada-sala	hall of disputation.
varada-mudra	hand-pose conferring a boon.
valaya (kankana)	wristlet.
vanamala	Vishnu's garland.
vatayana	window.
vimana	the sanctum together with its superstructure (from the *upa-pitha* to the *stupi*).
vimana-devata	sculpture of a deity placed in a niche on the outer wall of the *garbhagriha* or on the upper *talas* of the *vimana*.
Vidyadhara	celestial being shown as flying in the air.
vyakhyana-mudra	hand-pose in the attitude of exposition.
yali	leogryph.
yajnopavita	the sacred thread.

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Maps, Sketches and Plans

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Key to the Map

1. NEMAM
2. TIRUKKOVALUR
3. KOYILADI
4. VIRALUR
5. TIRUVELLARAI
6. KANCHIPURAM
7. UTTARAMERUR
8. NARTTAMALAI
9. KALIYAPATTI
10. PANANGUDI
11. VISALUR
12. TANJAVUR
13. TIRUPPUR
14. ENADI
15. SRIRANGAM
16. KILIYANUR
17. LALGUDI
18. SRINIVASANALLUR
19. MELAPPALUVUR
20. TIRUVERUMBUR
21. TIRUPPARAITTURAI
22. KUMBAKONAM
23. TIRUVAIYARU
24. CHIDAMBARAM
25. VEDARANYAM
26. PUDUKKOTTAI
27. TIRUVENKADU
28. TIRUNAGESVARAM
29. TIRUKKALUKKUNRAM
30. TONDAIMANADU
31. KALAHASTI
32. TALAKAD
33. KANNANUR

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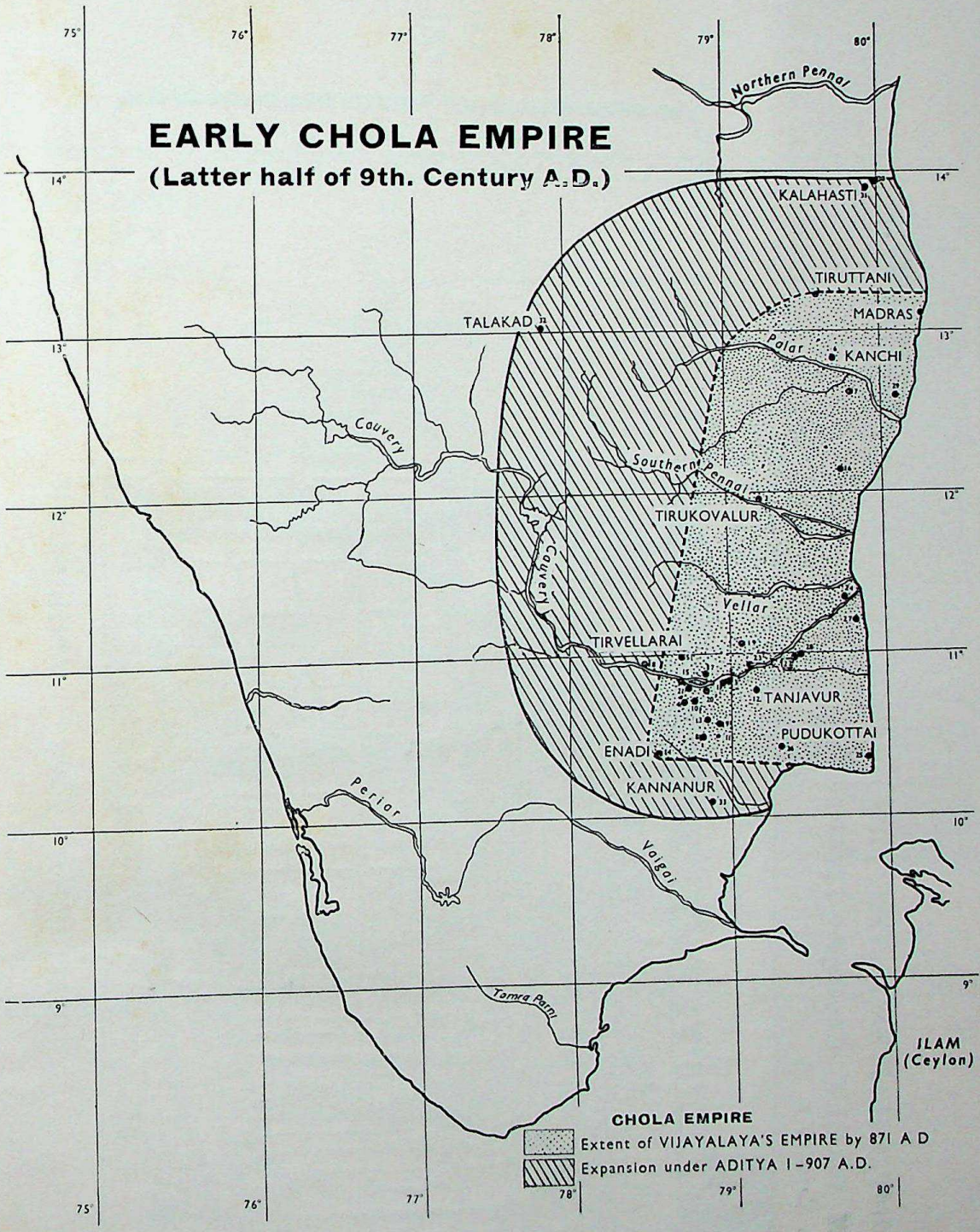
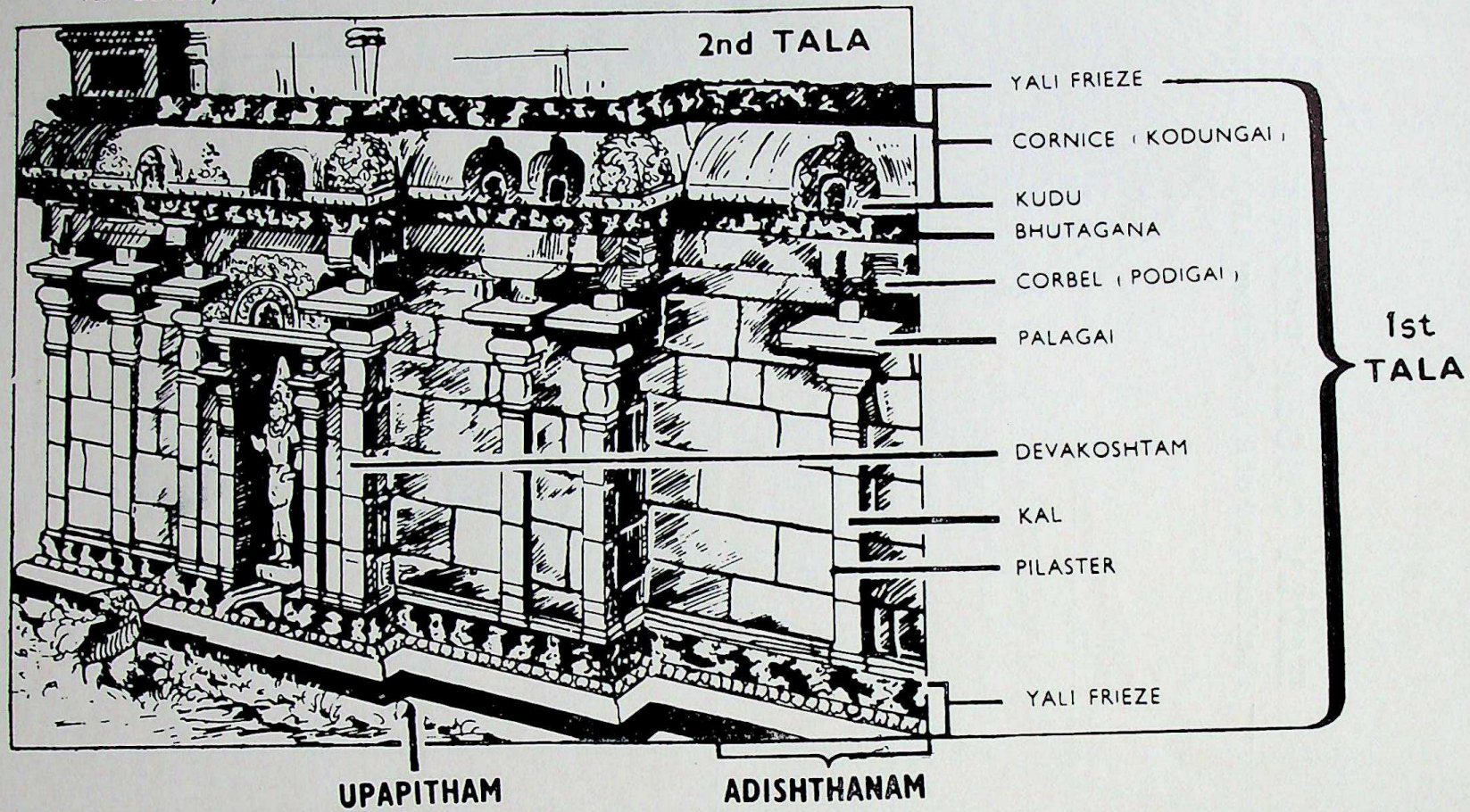


COMPONENTS OF THE FIRST TALA (CELLA WALL) OF AN EARLY CHOLA TEMPLE

9th Century A. D.



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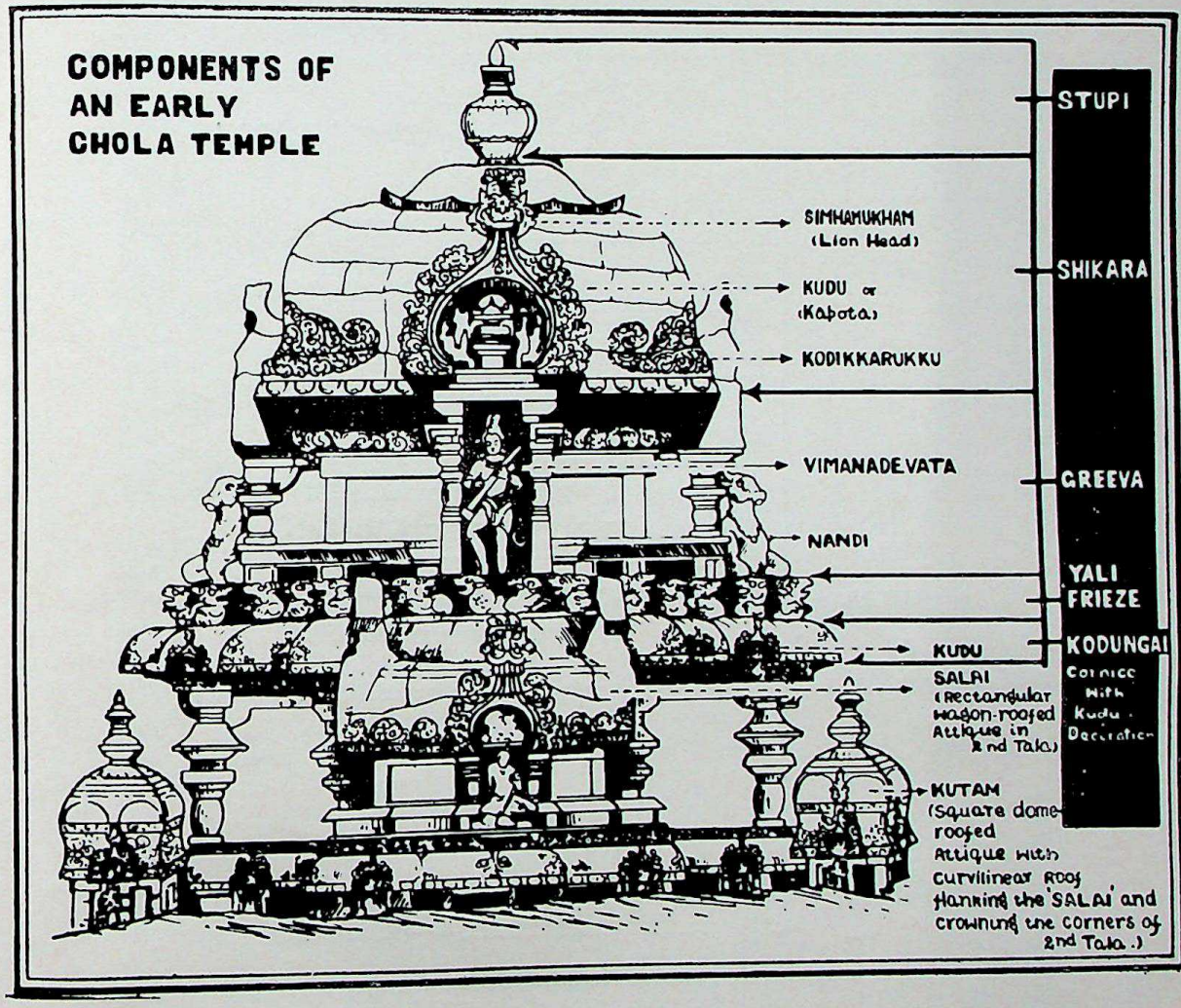

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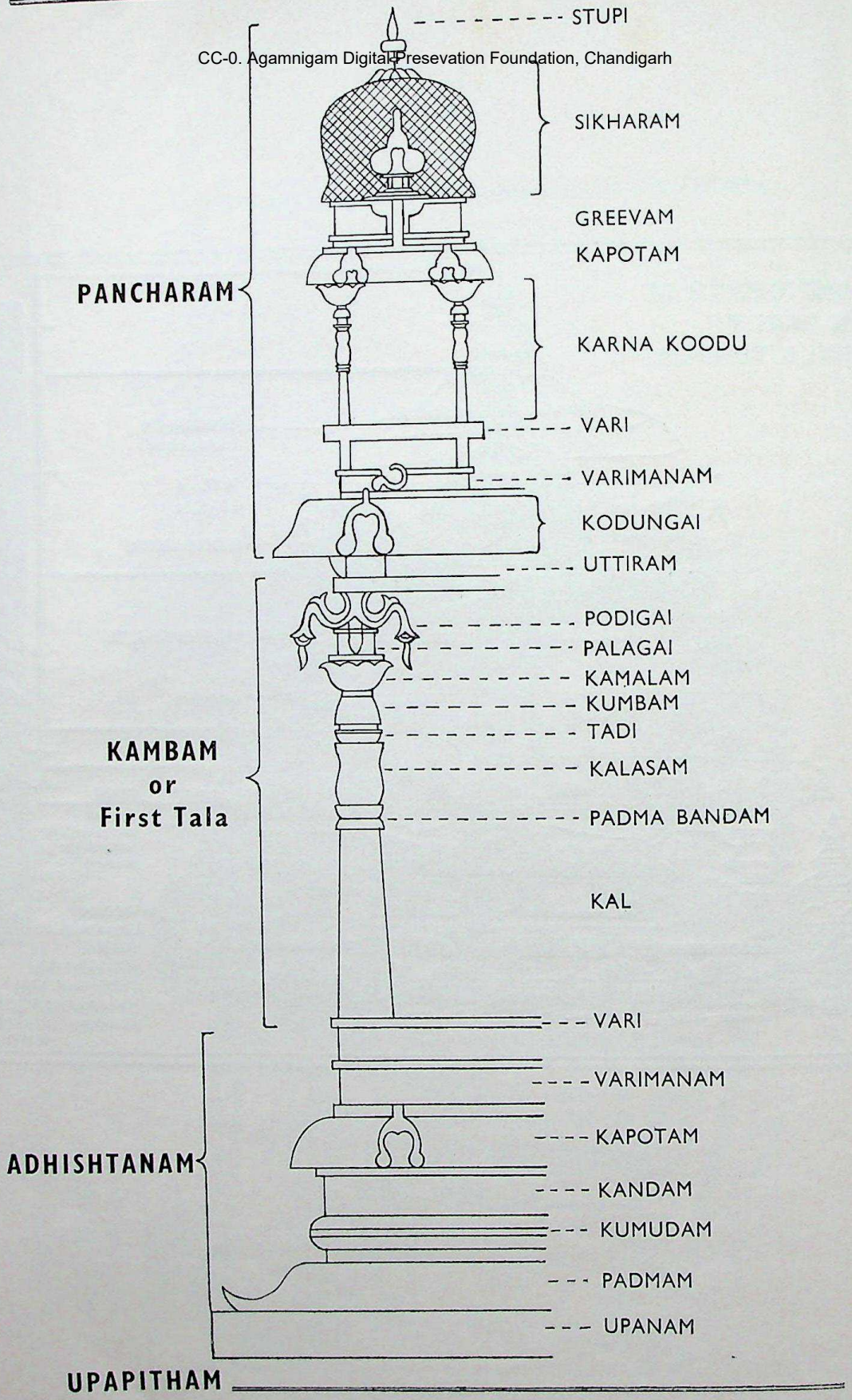

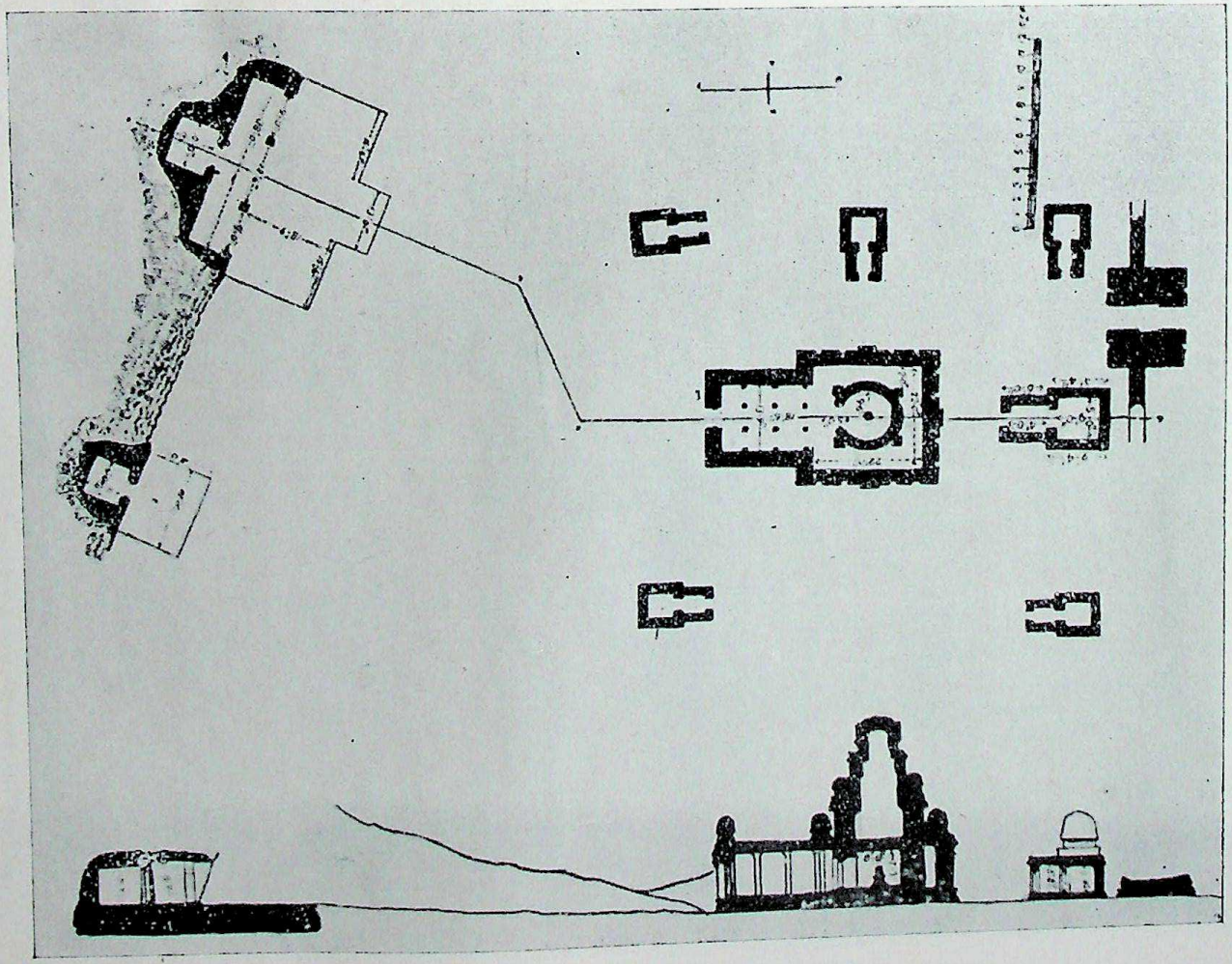

Vijayalaya Cholisvaram, Narttamalai.

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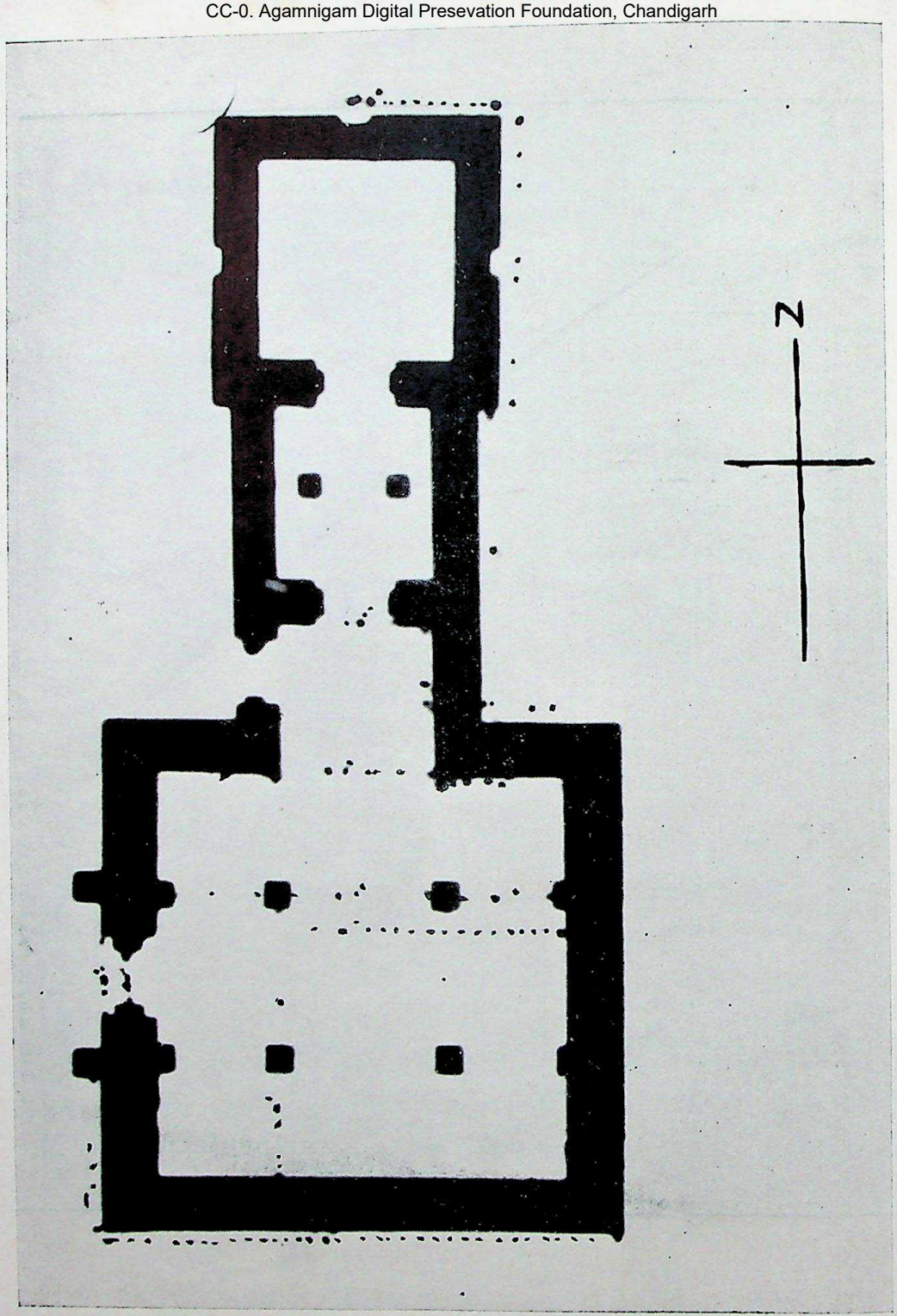
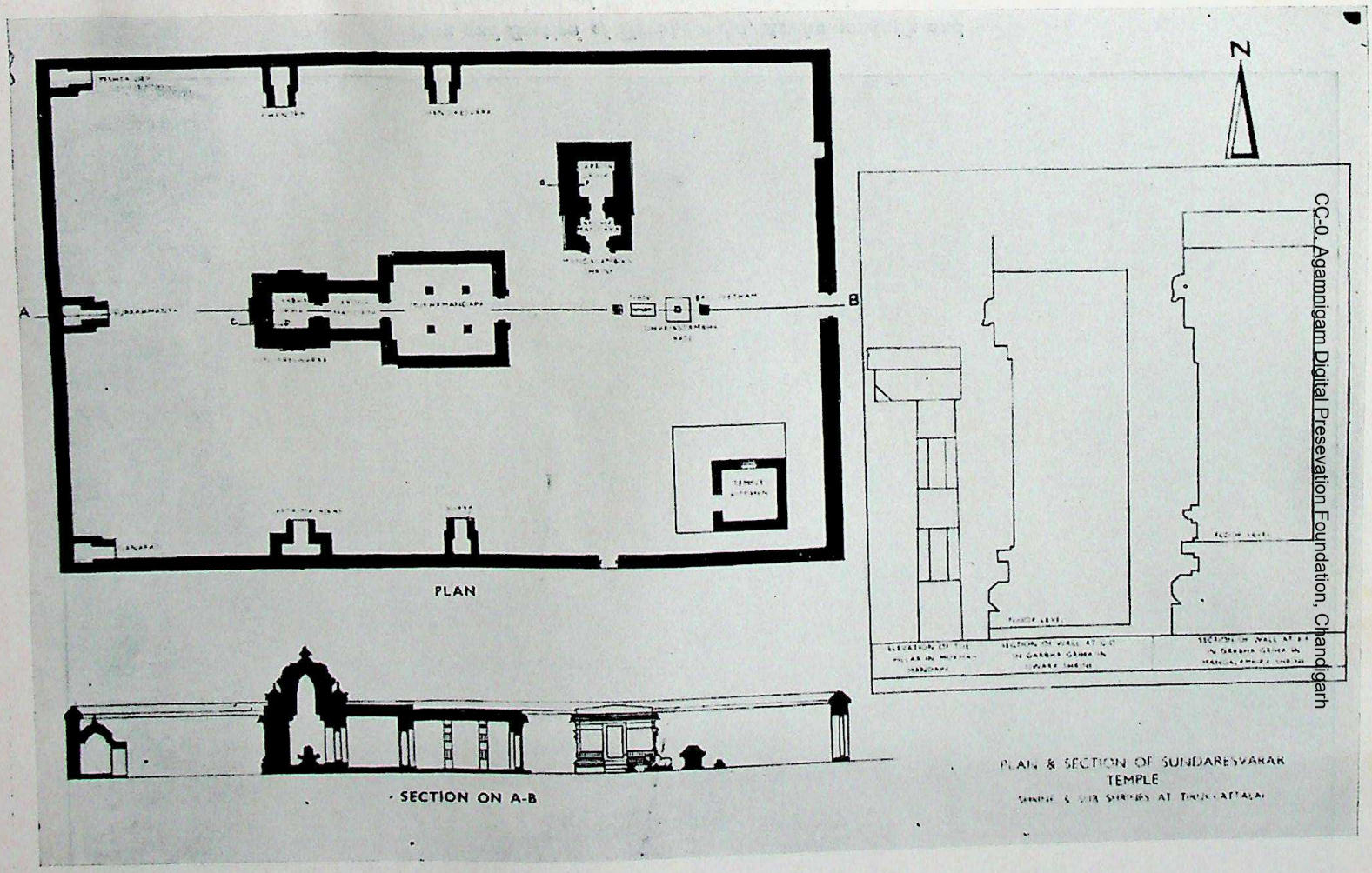
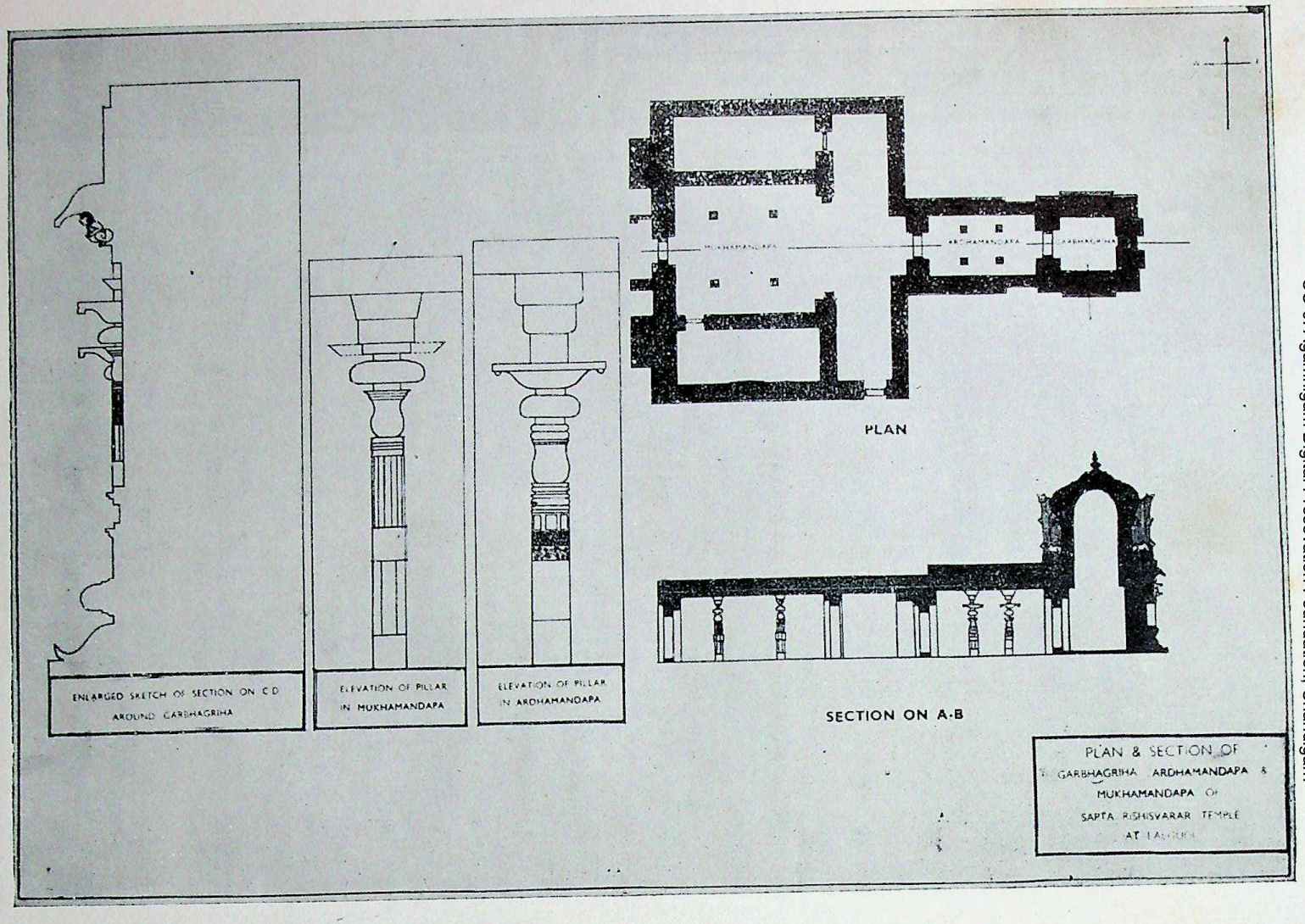


Kannanur Balasubrahmanya Temple—General Plan.



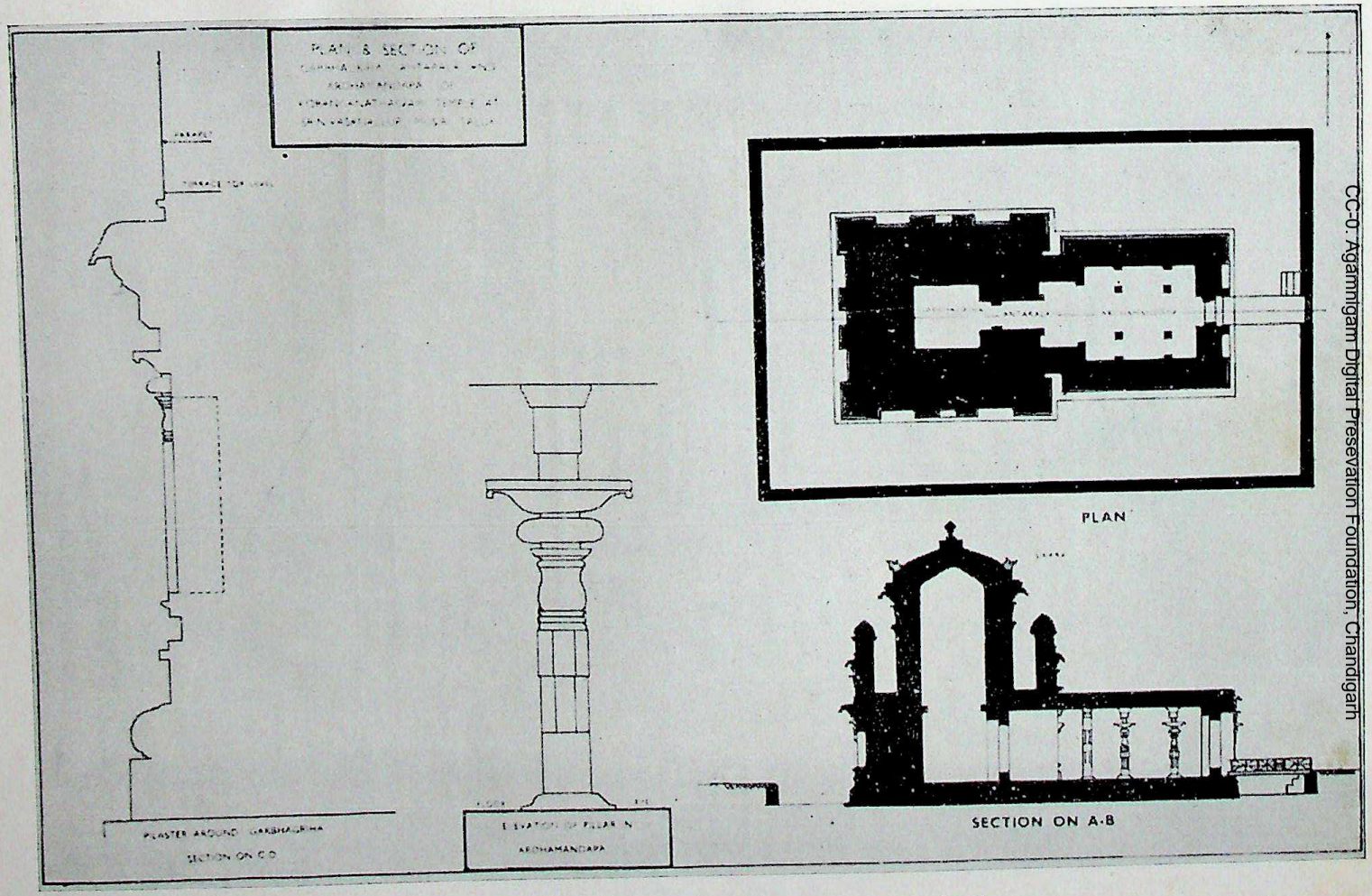
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plan and Section of Sundaresvara Temple. Shrines and sub-shrines at Tirukkattalai.



Plan and Section of Garbhagriha, Ardhamandapa and Mukhamandapa of Saptarishisvarar Temple, Lalgudi.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



Plan and Section of Garbhagriha, Antarala, and Ardha-mandapa of Koranganathaswami at Srinivasanallur, Musiri Taluk.

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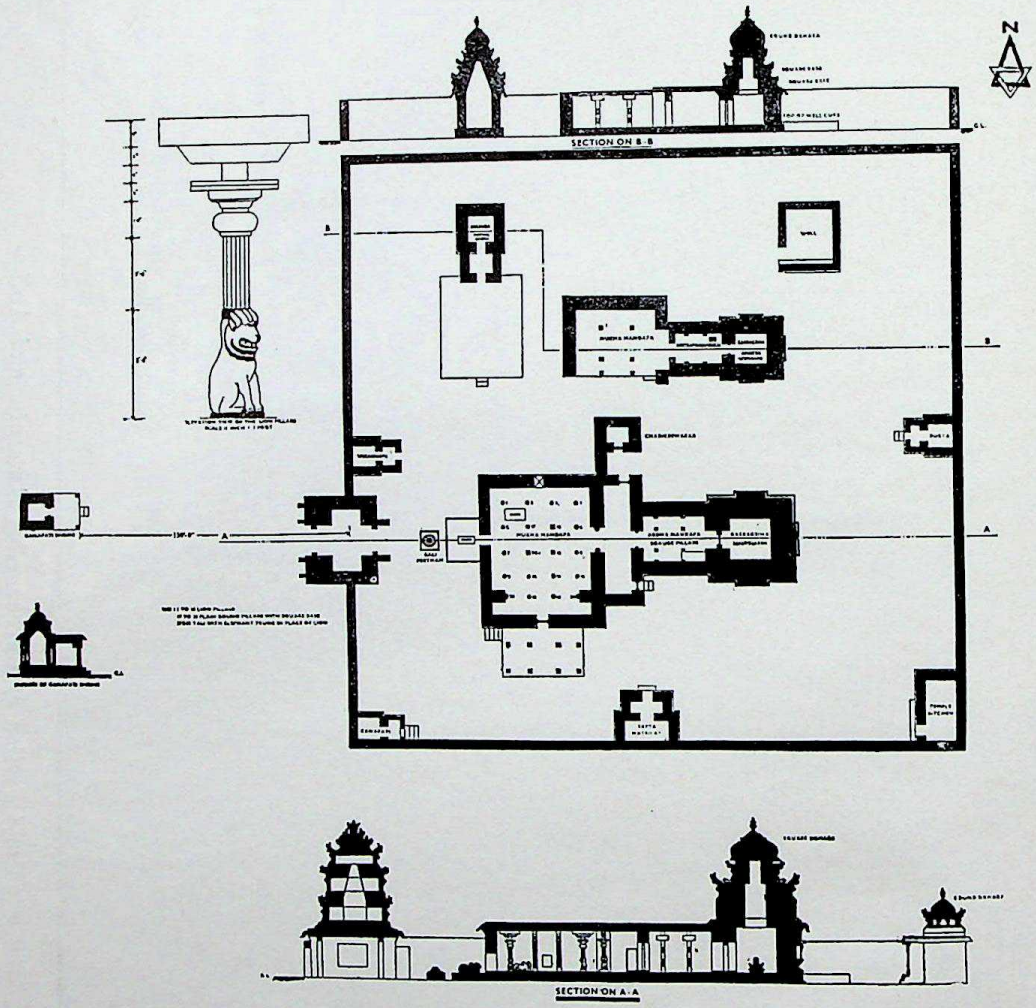
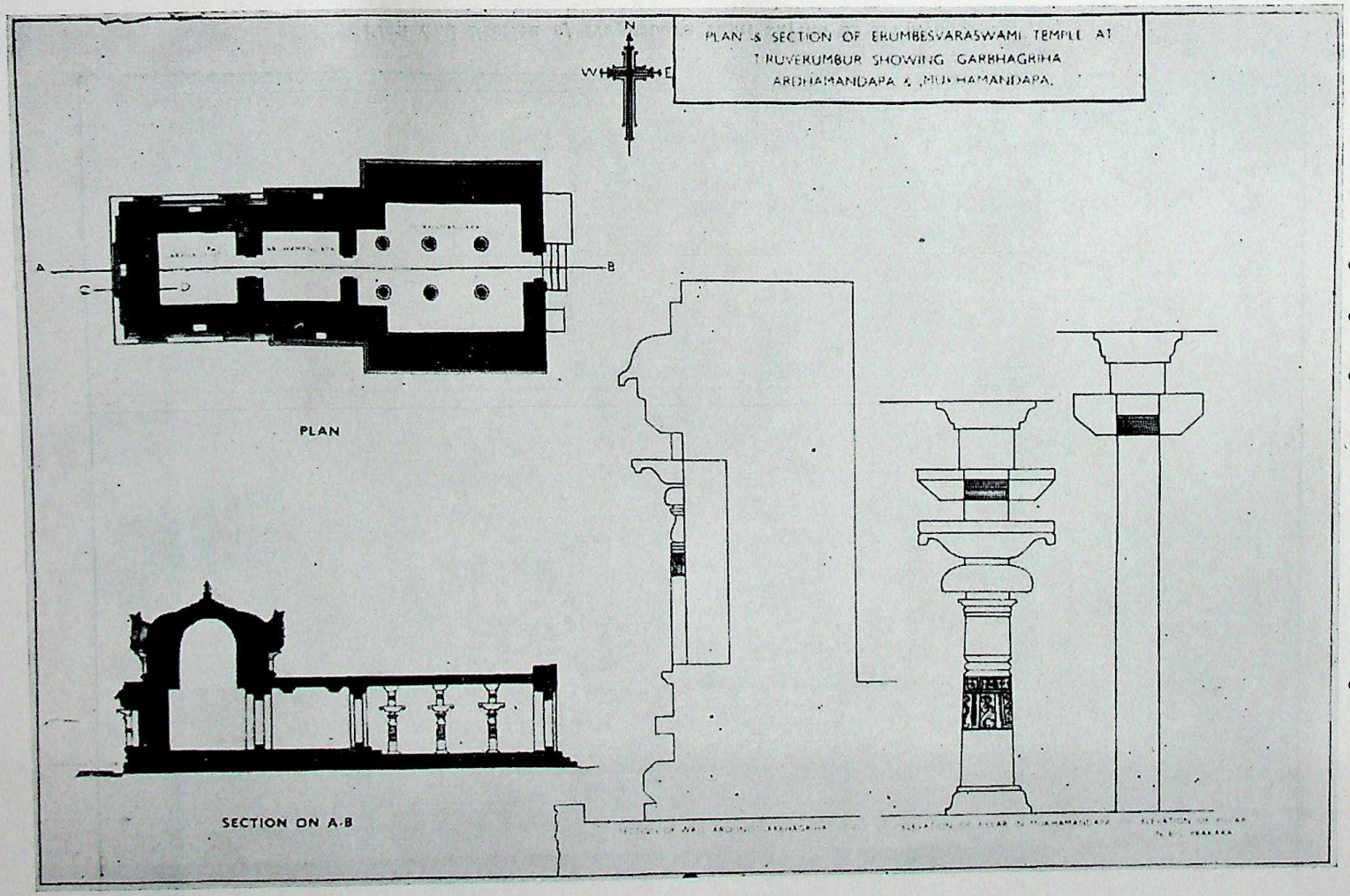


Plan and Sections of Agastisvaram and Arunachalesvarar shrines with sub-shrines at Kilaiyur.



Plan and Section of Erumbesvarasvami Temple at Tiruverumbur, showing Garbhagriha, Ardhamandapa, and Mukhamandapa.

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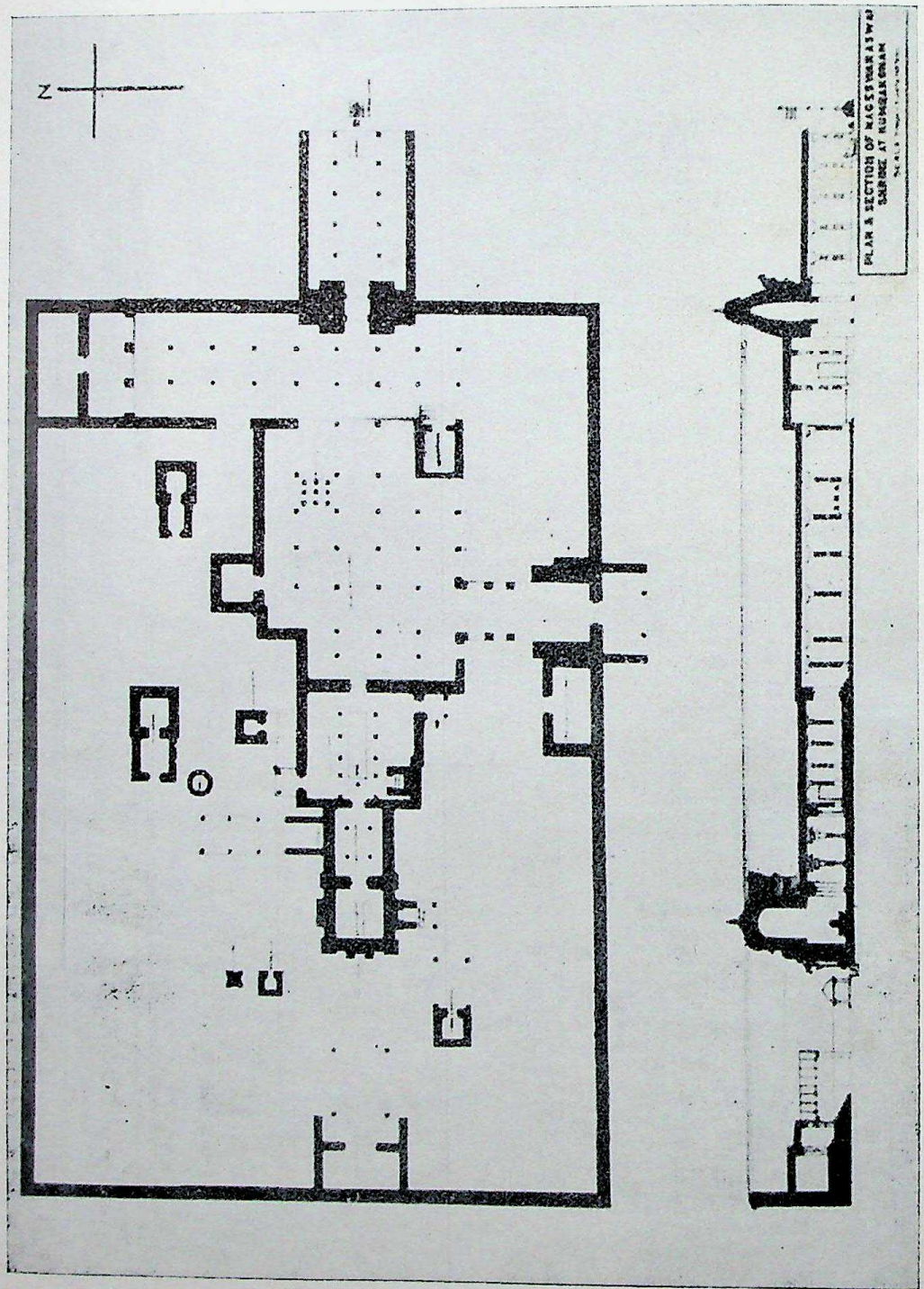

Plan and Section of Nageswaraswami shrine at Kumbakonam.

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illustrations

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1-a. Easalur. Ayyanar (Sasta).

1-b. Durga with deer-mount.

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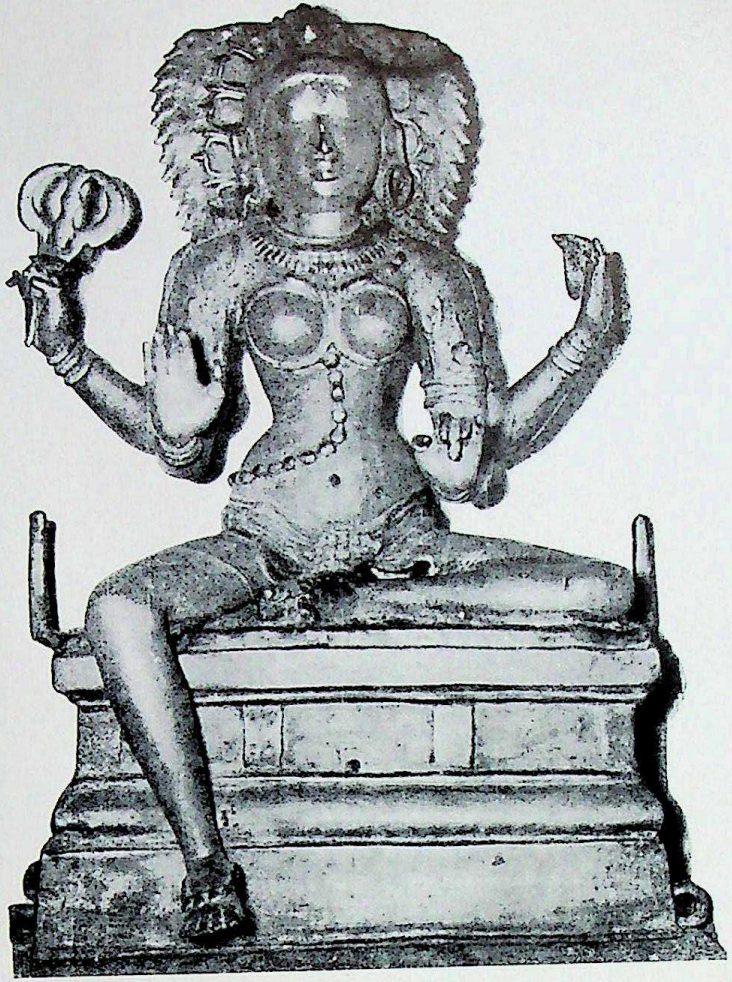
2-b. *Tiruchchennampundi. Ardhanarisvarar.*



2-a. *Kilaiyur. Pidari.*

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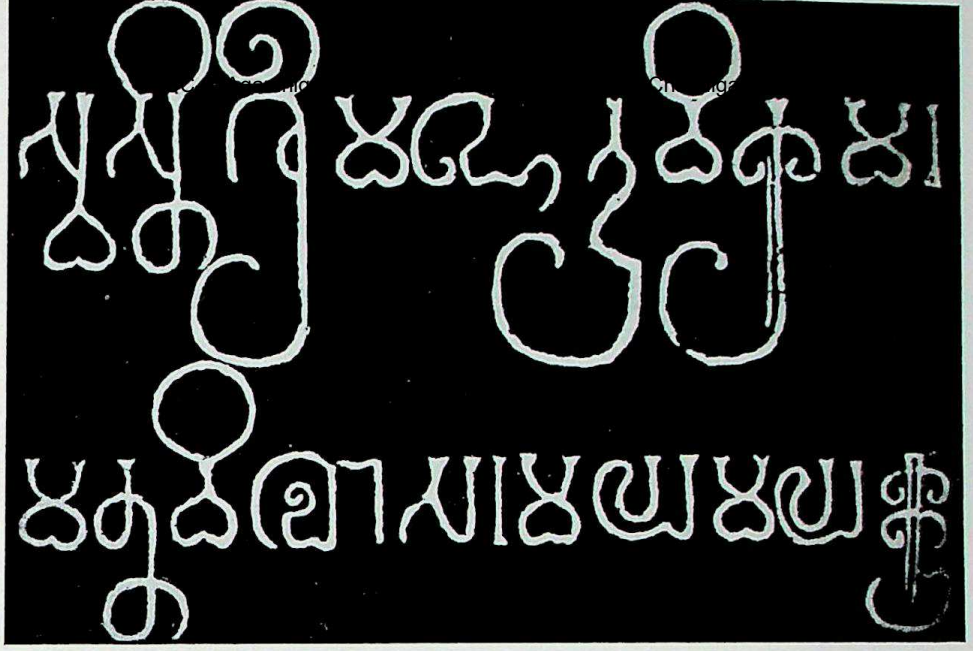
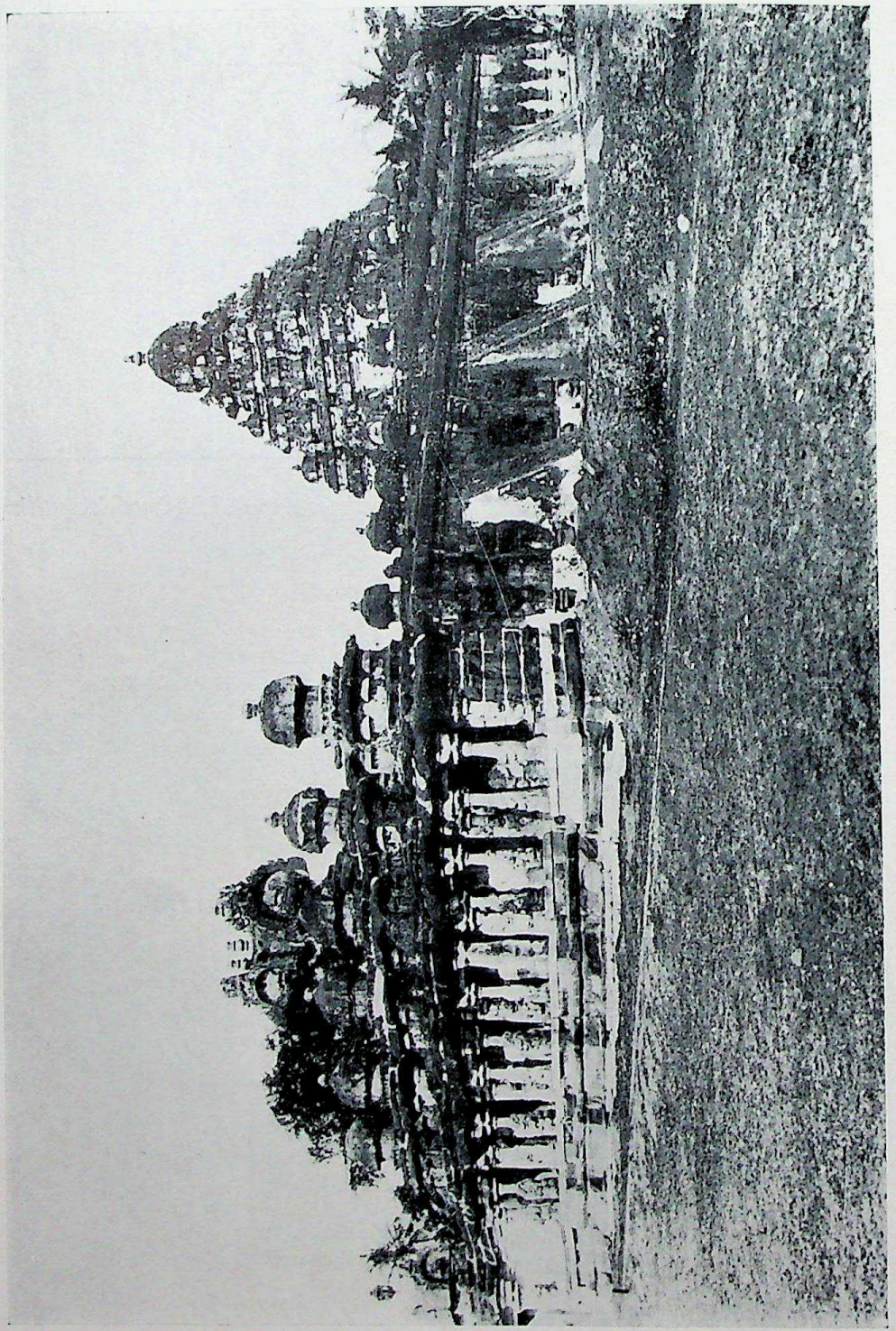


3-a. Pallava Inscription. Age of Mahendravarman I. Tiruchirapalli.

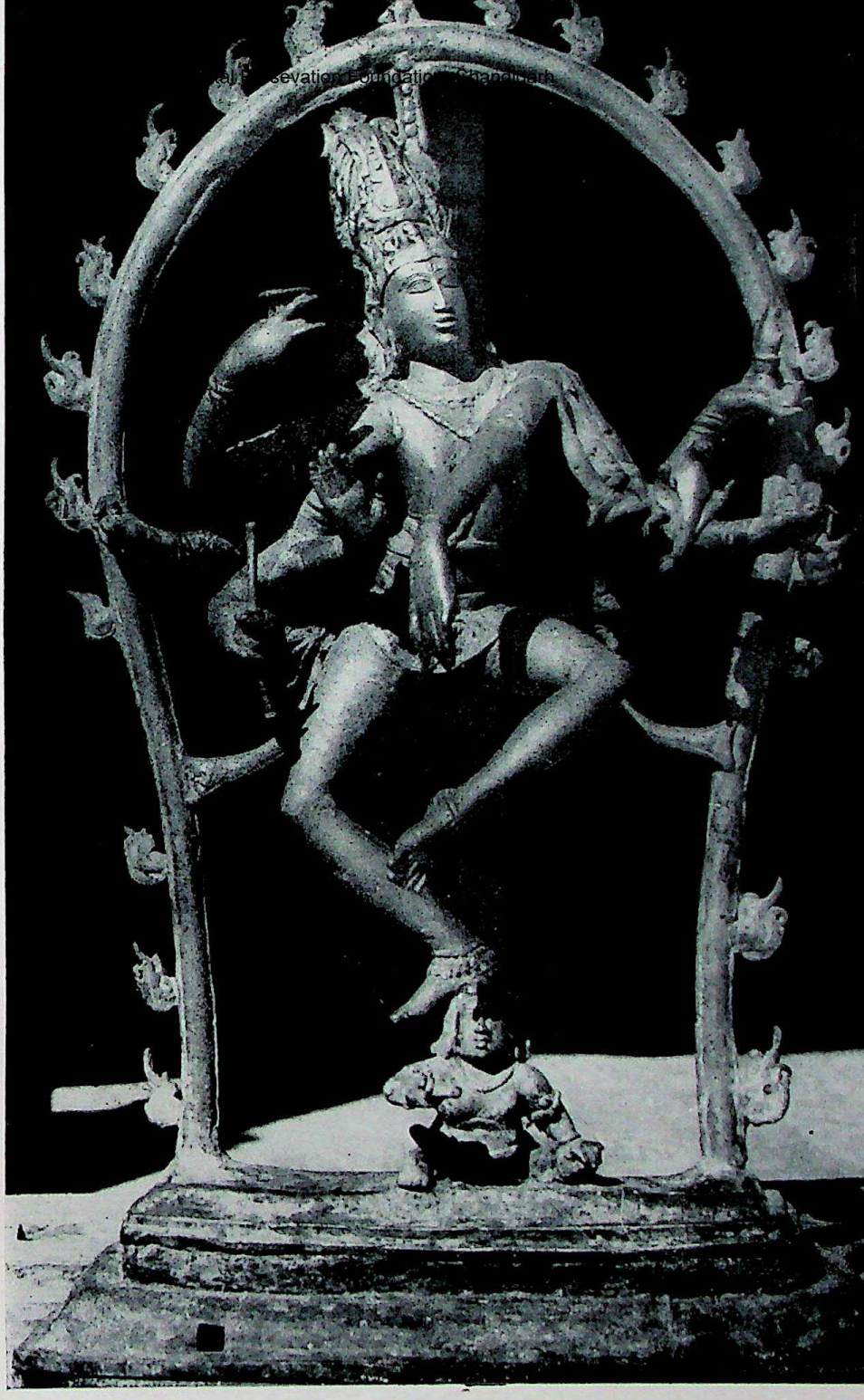
3-b. Pallava Inscription. Age of Mahendravarman I. Kanchipuram.

3-c. Pallava Inscription. Age of Rajasimha. Kanchipuram.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

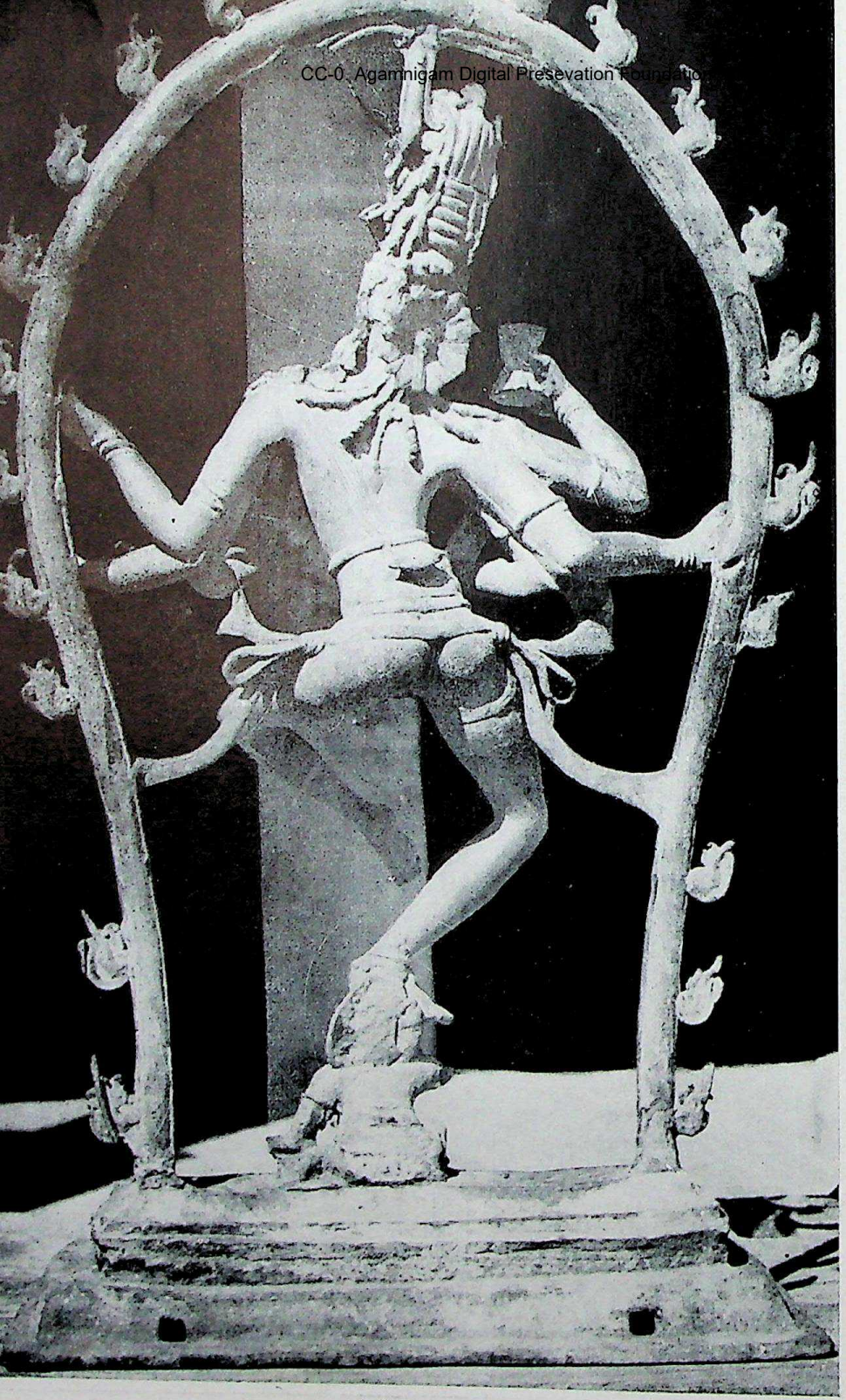


4. Kanchipuram. Kailasanatha Temple.



5. *Nallur. Nataraja (front view).*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation



6. Nallur. Naṭaraja (rear view).

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7. *Hero-stone, Virasolapuram.*

8. *Tanjavur. Nisumbasudani.*

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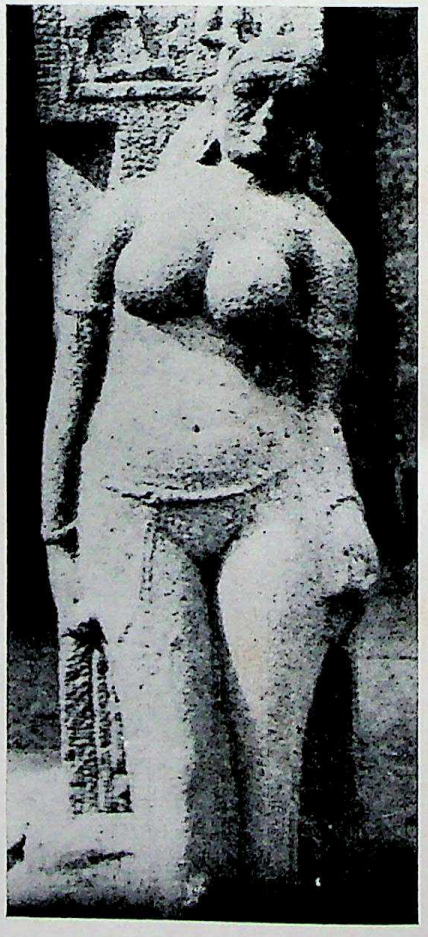
9-a. Tiruvamattur. Chandesvara.



9-b. Tiruvakkarai. Saptamatrika Temple. Dvarapalika.

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10. Narttamalai. Vijayalaya Cholisvaram.

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11-a. Vijayalaya Cholisvaram.
Dvarapala.

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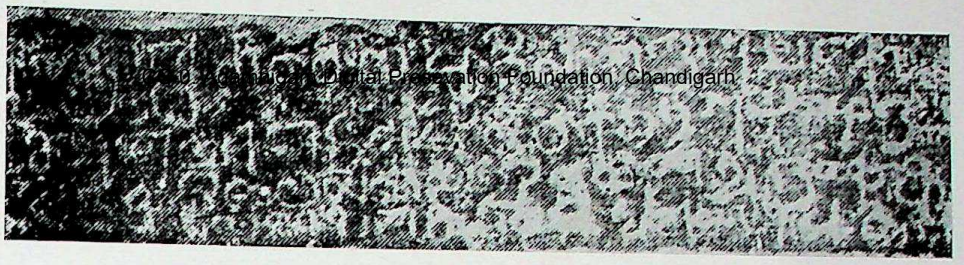
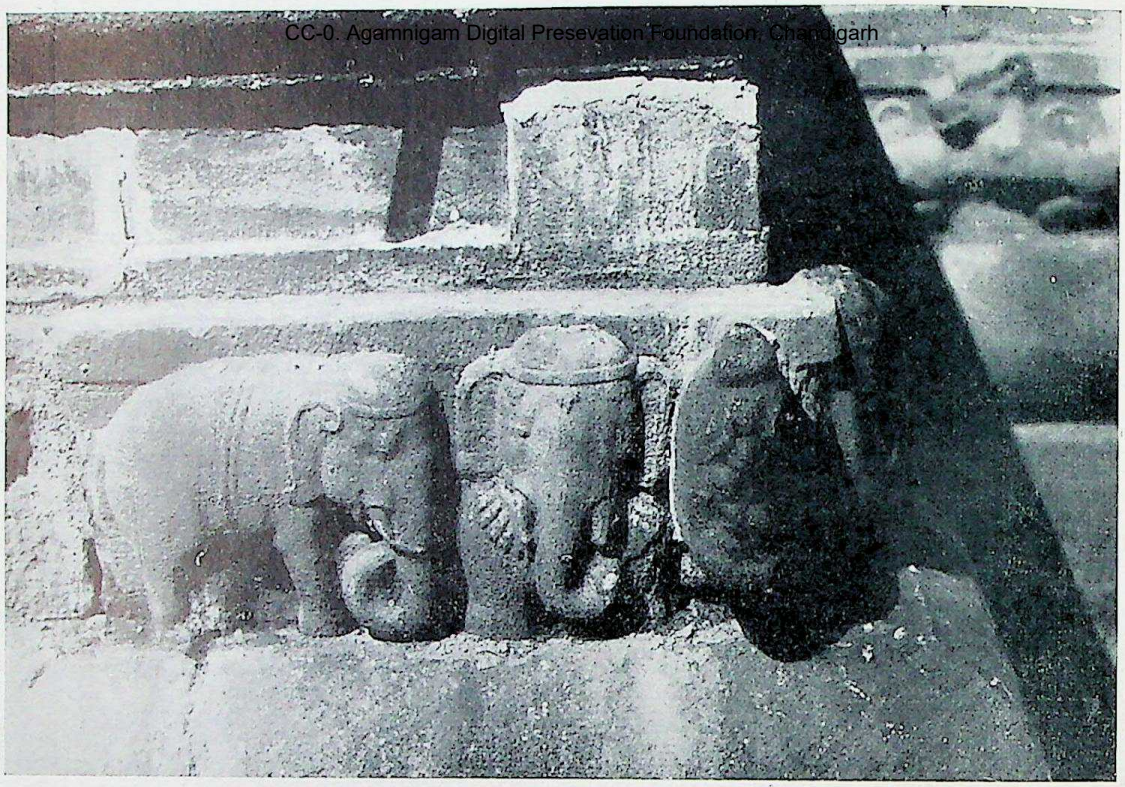


11-b. Vijayalaya Cholisvaram,
Inscription below the dvarapala.

11-c. Narttamalai. Paliyilisvaram.
Dvarapalas.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



12-a. Paliyilisvaram. Moulded basement.

12-b. Paliyilisvaram. Bhuta-gana frieze and Nrpatunga's inscription.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

13-a. Narttamalai. Cave I. Moulded basement (elephant and yali frieze).

13-b. Vijayalaya Cholisvaram. Nrsimha.

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14-a. Vijayalaya Cholisvaram.
Brahmi.

14-b. Vijayalaya Cholisvaram.
Mahesvari.

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15-b. Vijayalaya Cholisvaram.
Vaishnavi.

15-a. Vijayalaya Cholisvaram.
Kaumari.

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16-a. Vijayalaya Cholisvaram.
Indrani.

16-b. Vijayalaya Cholisvaram.
Varahi.

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17-b. Vijayalaya Cholisvaram.
Vinadhara Dakshinamurti.

17-a. Vijayalaya Cholisvaram.
Chamunda.

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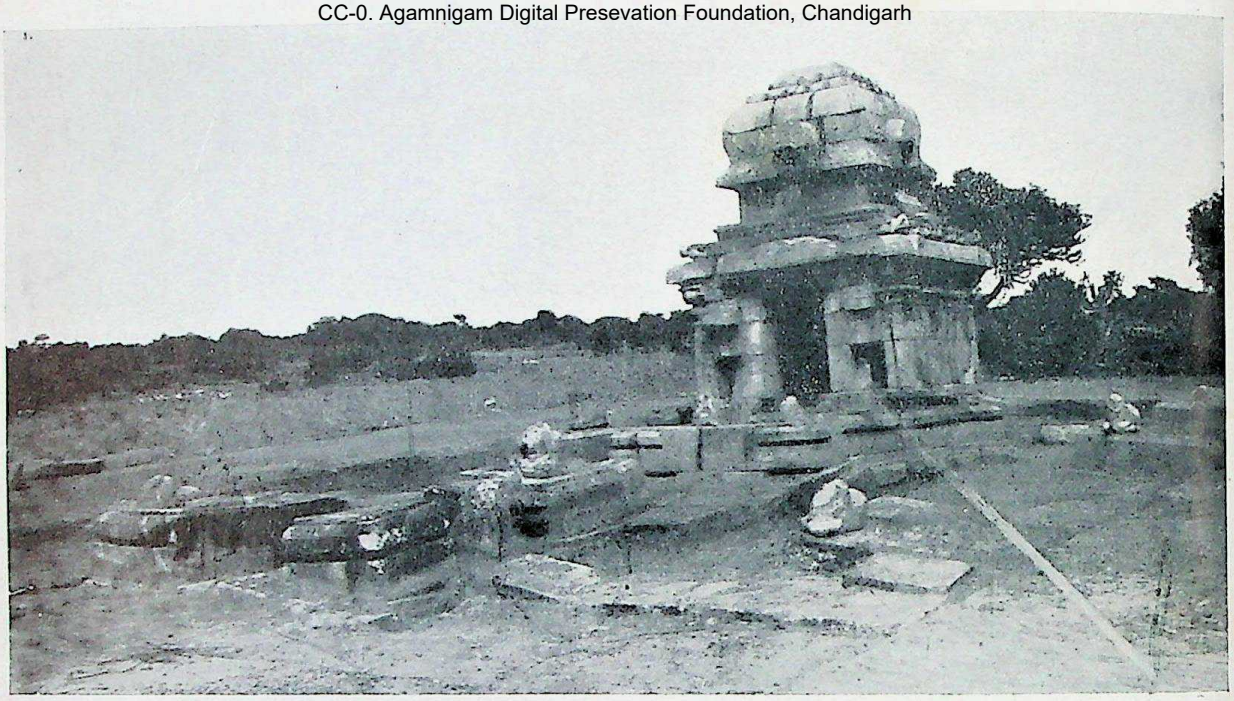

18-a. Kaliyapatti. Sri Vimana.

18-b. Kaliyapatti. Inscription of the 18th year of Parakesari.

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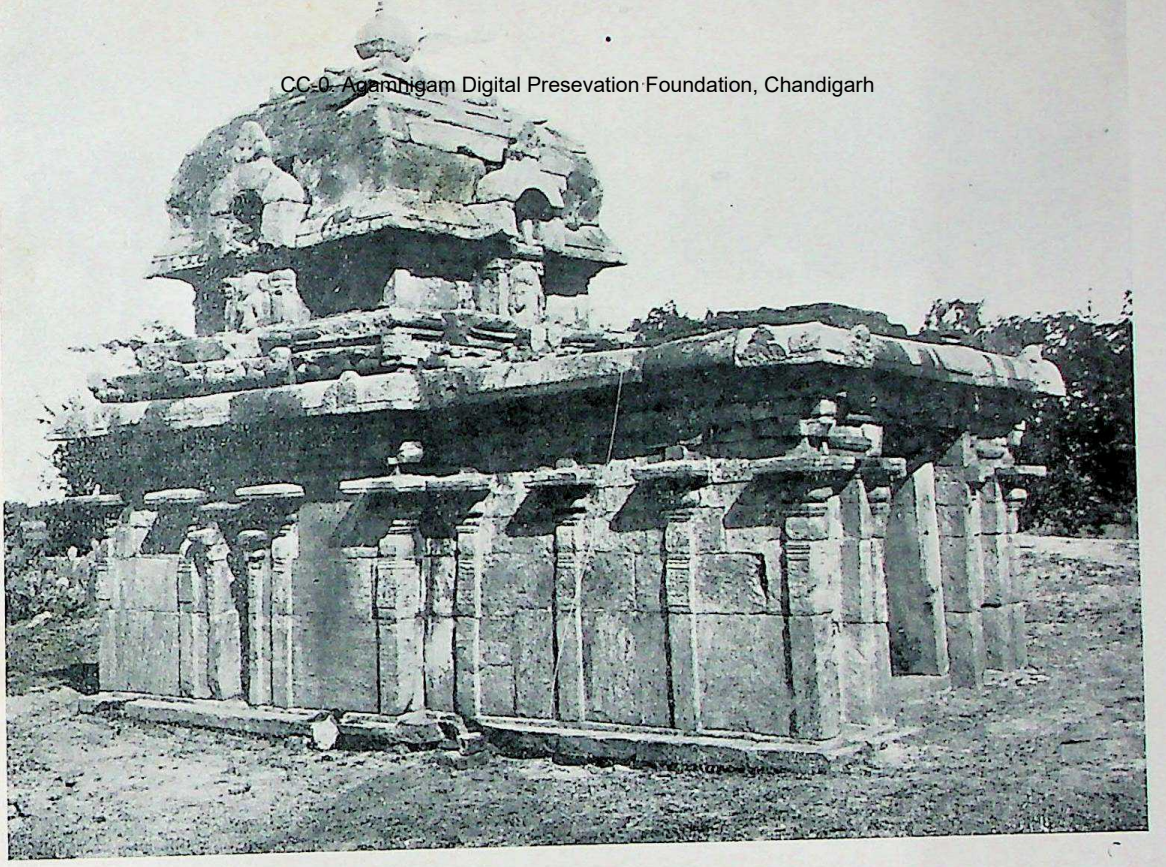
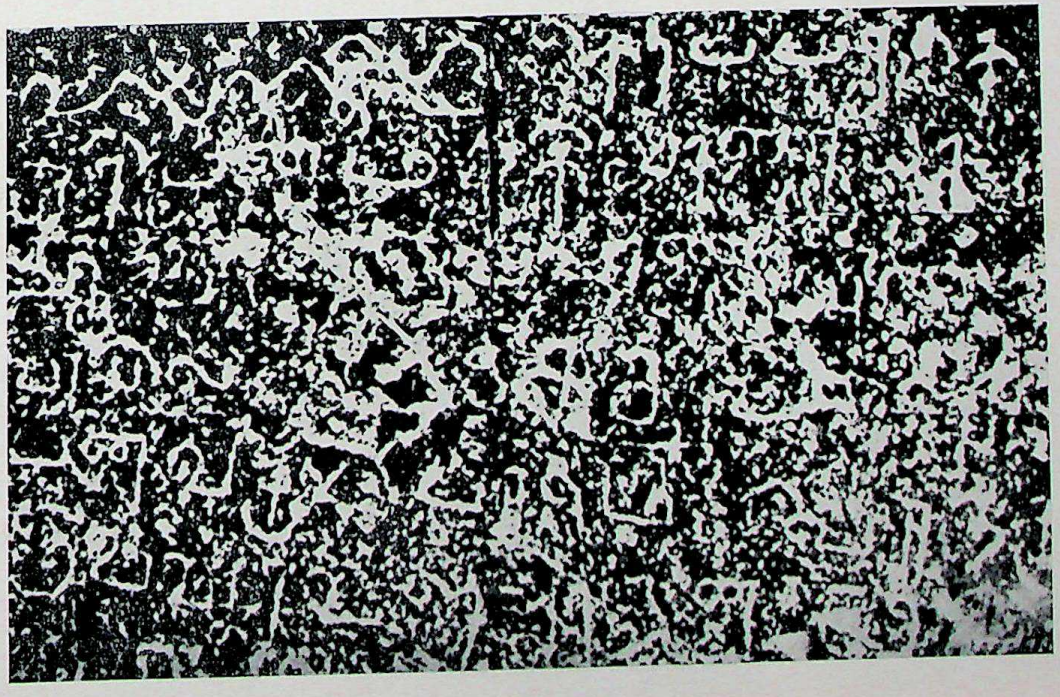
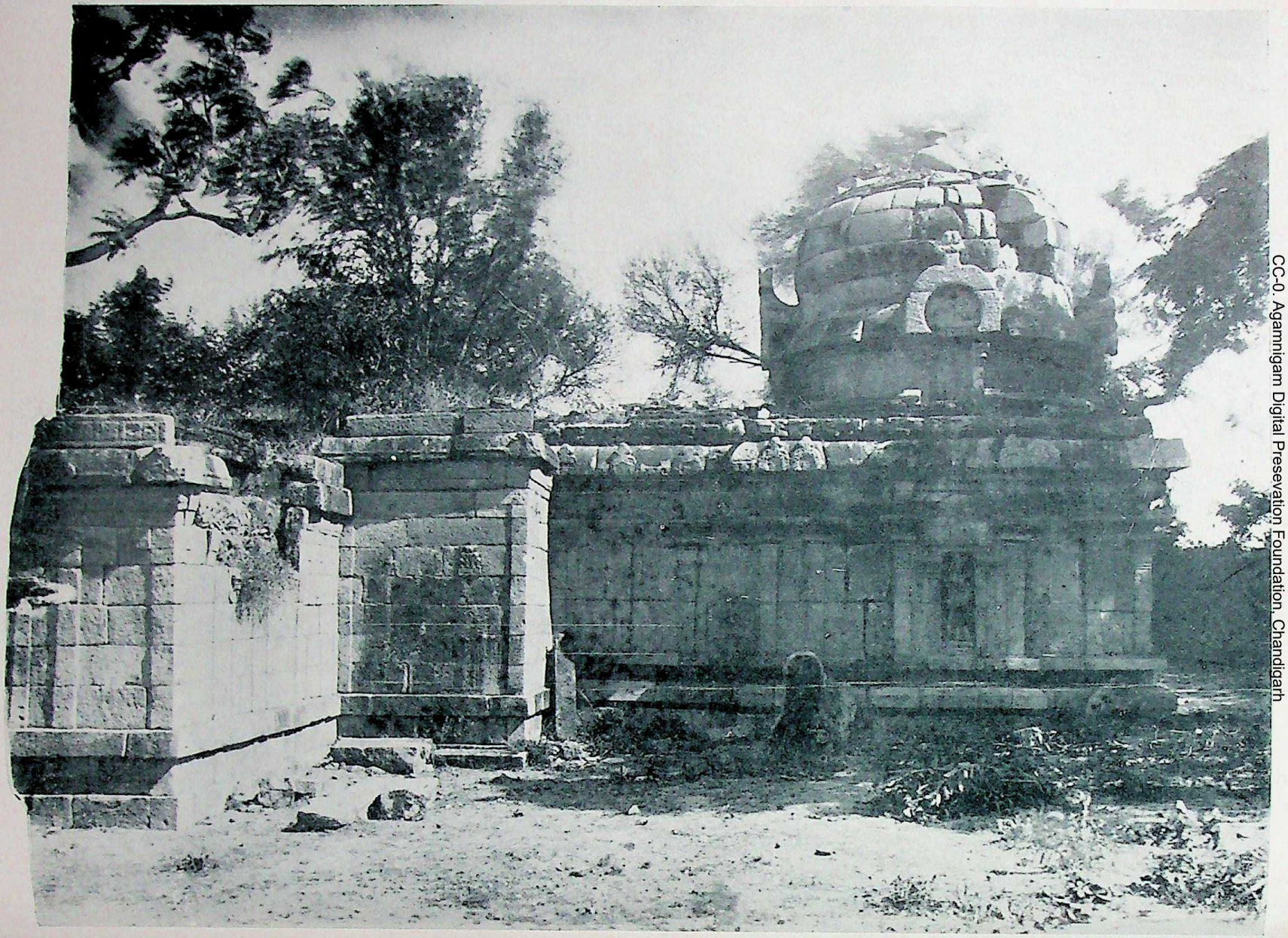


19-a. Panangudi. Sri Vimana.



19-b. Panangudi. The oldest inscription, of the 14th year of Parakesari.



20. *Virabur, Sri Vimana*

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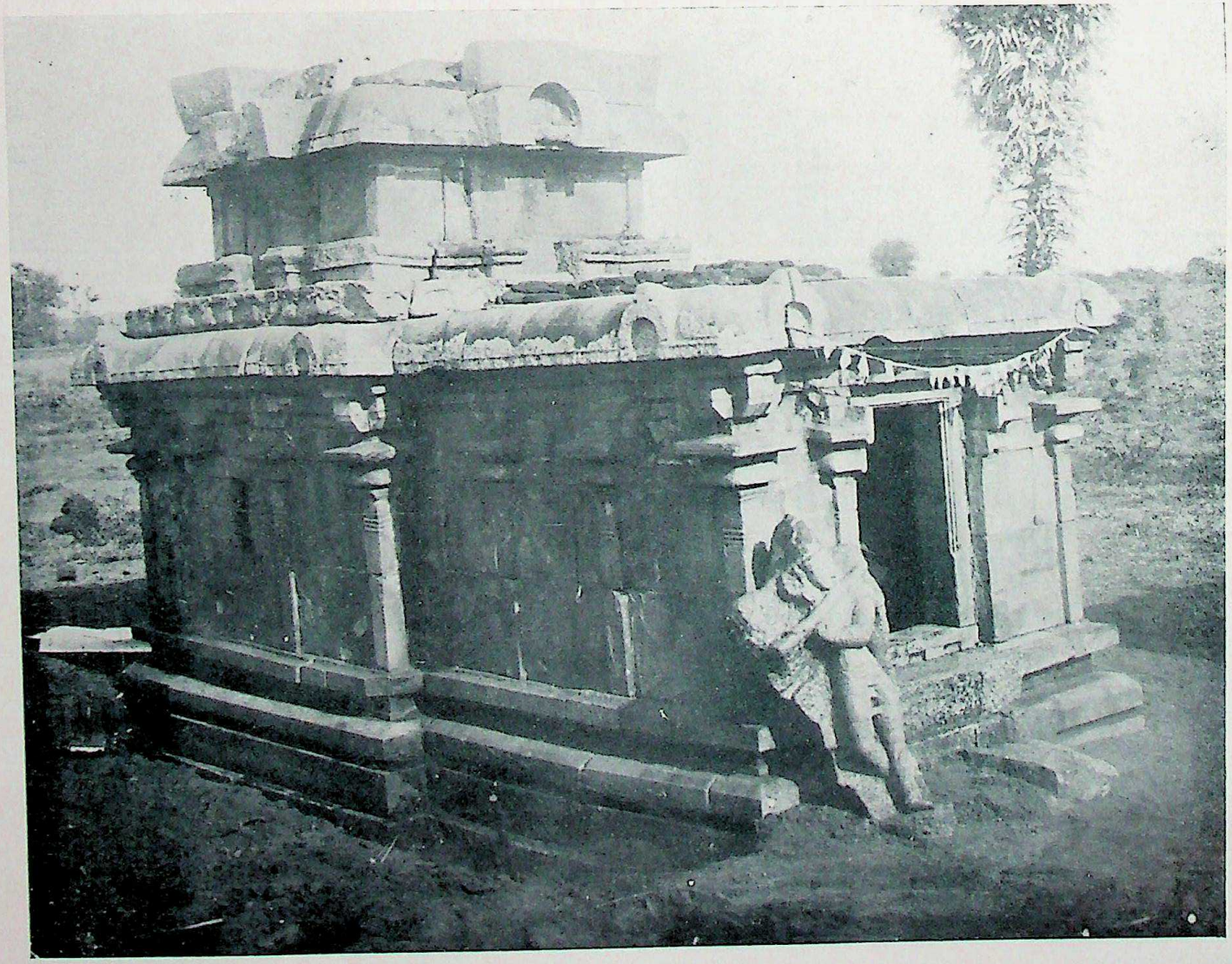

21. Tiruppur. Sri Vimana.

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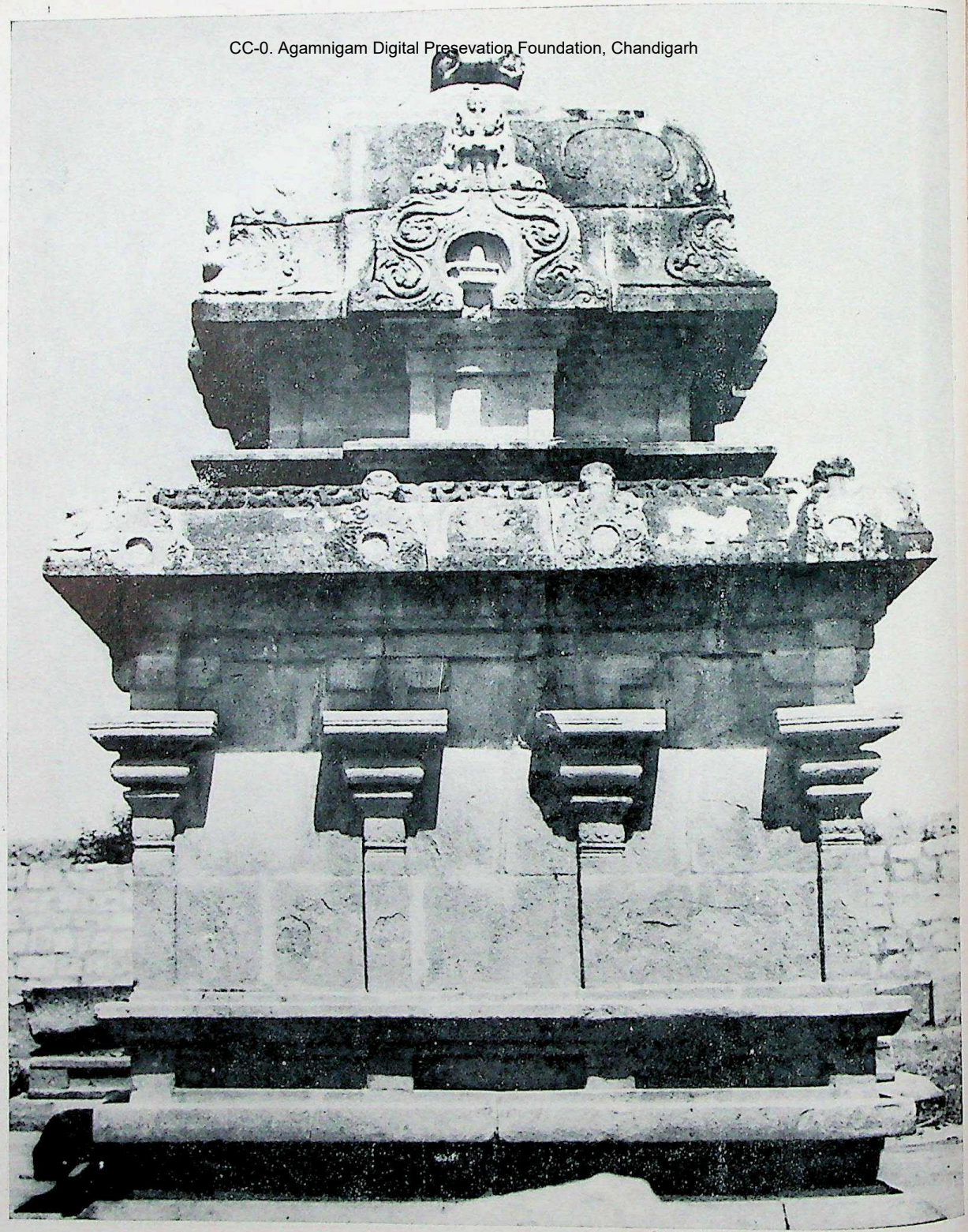
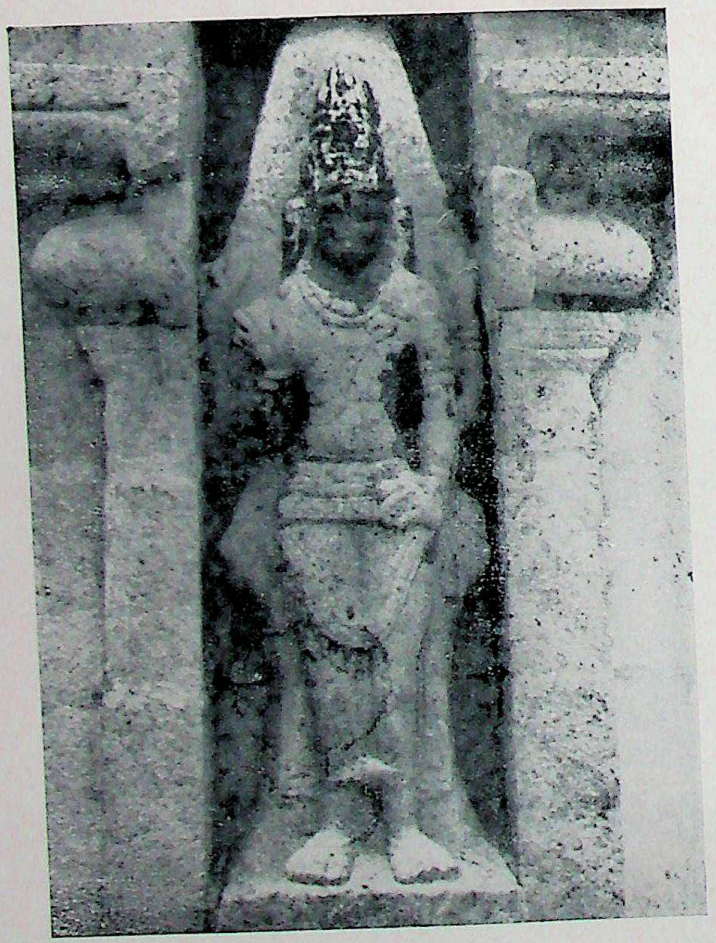


22. *Enadi. Sri Vimana.*



23-a. *Tiruvellarai. Brahma.*

23-b. *Tiruvellarai. Jyeshtadevi.*

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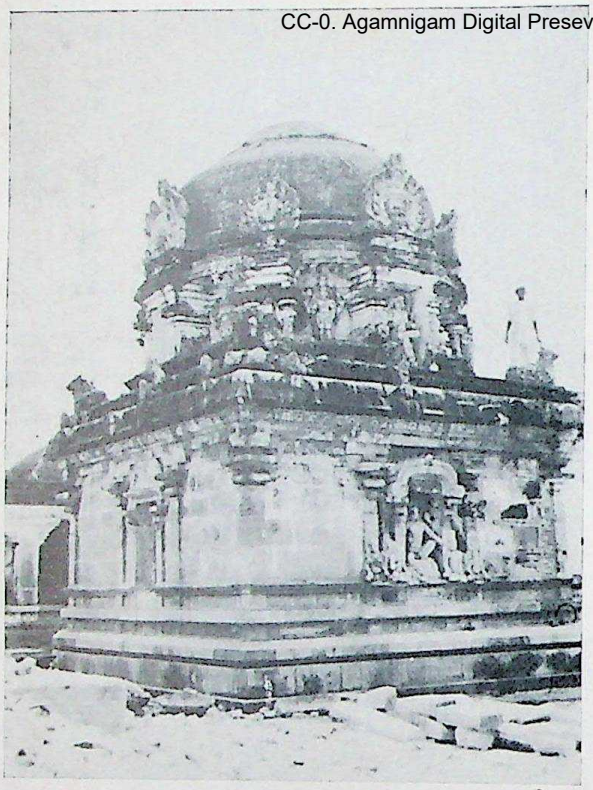
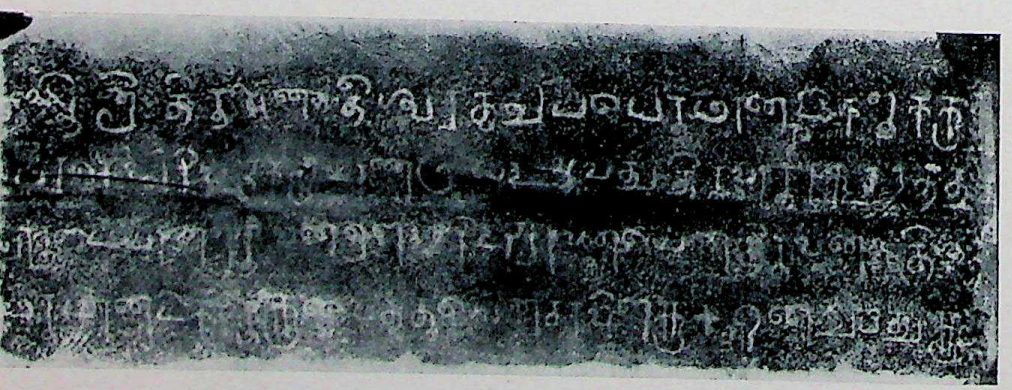


24-a. Chidambaram. Anantisvaram Temple. Sri Vimana.

24-b. Anantisvaram Temple. Inscription of Vijayalaya.



24-c. Anantisvaram Temple. Inscription of Parantaka I.

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25. *Kappalur. Dakshinamurti.*

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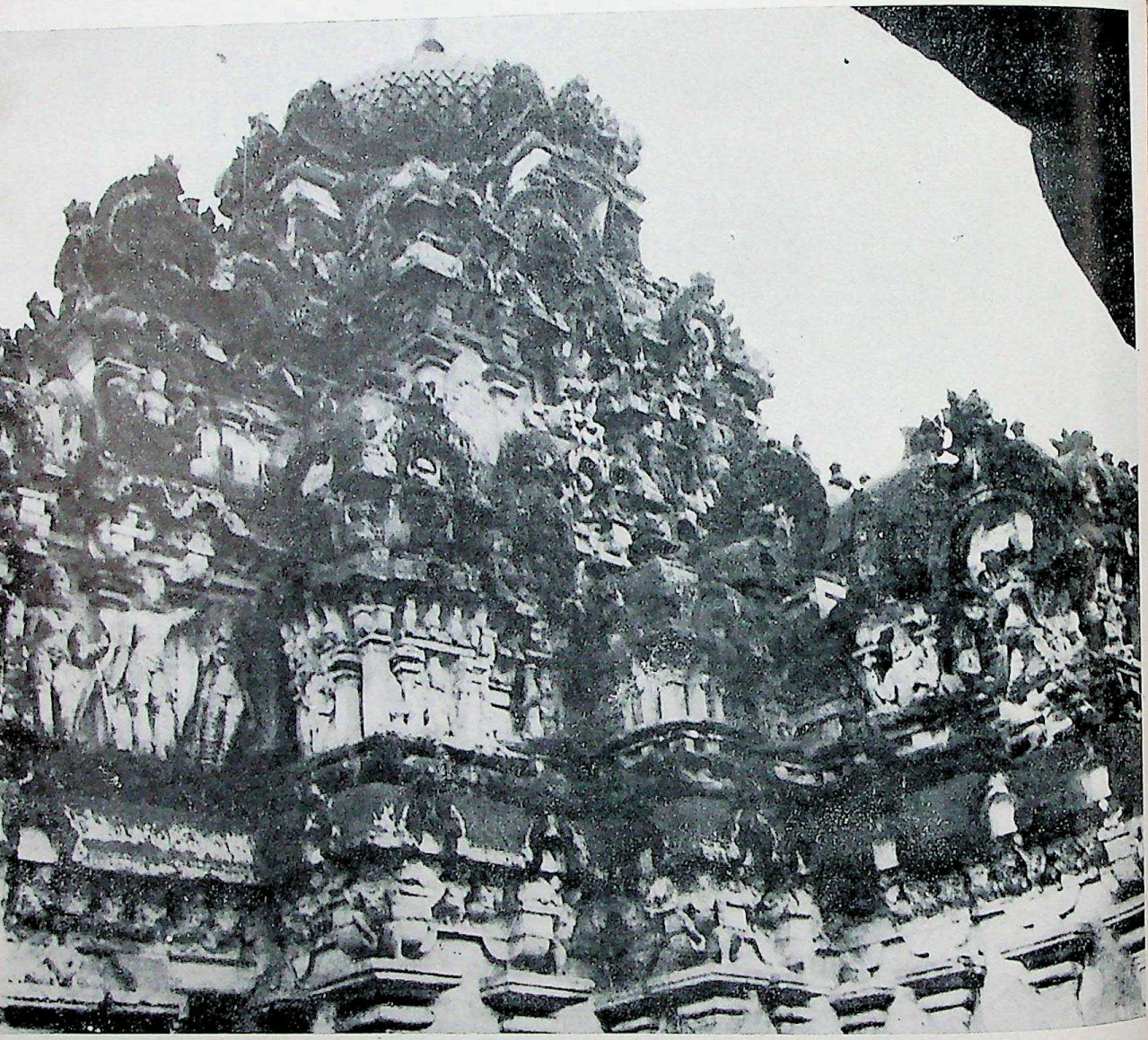

26. *Uttaramerur. Sundaravarada Temple. Sri Vimana.*

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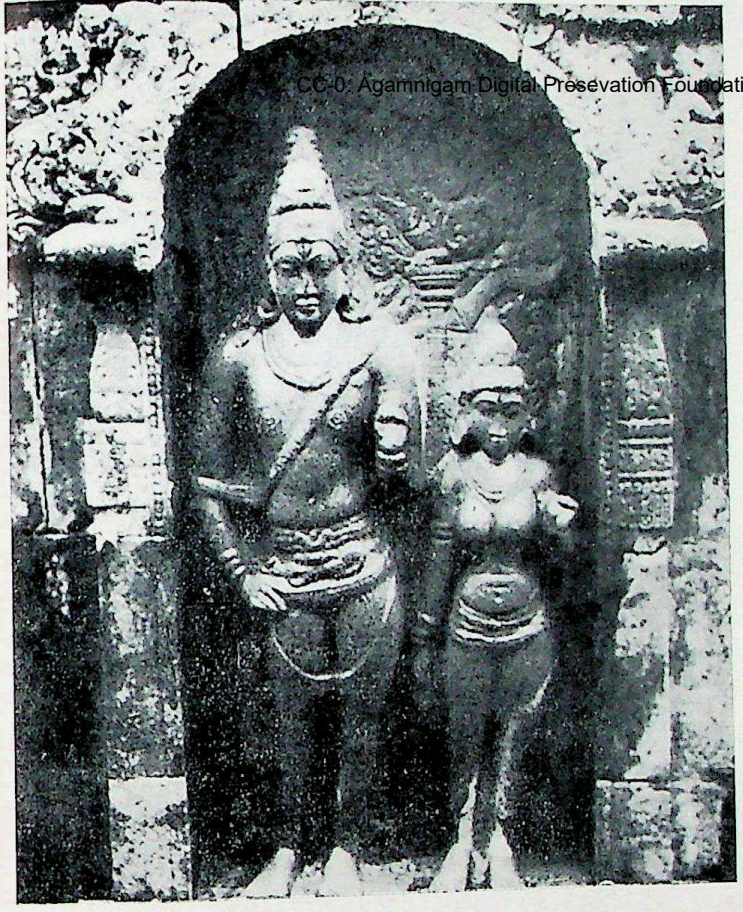

27-a. *Sundaravarada Temple. Manmata and Rati.*

27-b. *Sundaravarada Temple. Sage Bhrigu.*

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28. *Kanchipuram. Sokkesvara Temple. Sri Vimana.*

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29. *Sokkesvara Temple. Sikhara.*

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30. *Sokkesvara Temple. Torana.*

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31. Sokkesvara Temple. Ganapati.

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32. *Sokkesvara Temple.*
Dakshinamurti.

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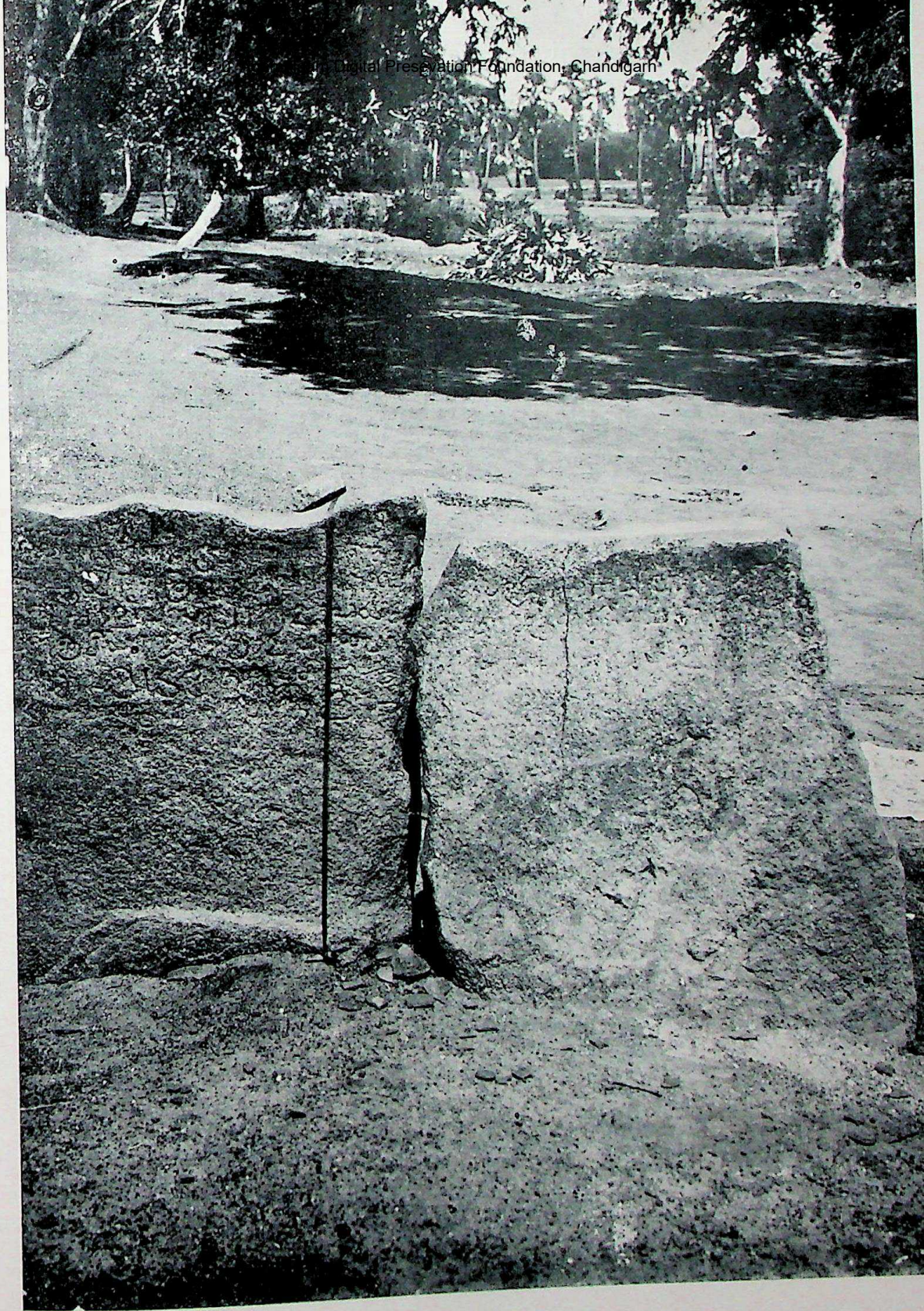

33-a. Munisandai Tank with inscribed stones.
(Nanadesi inscriptions).

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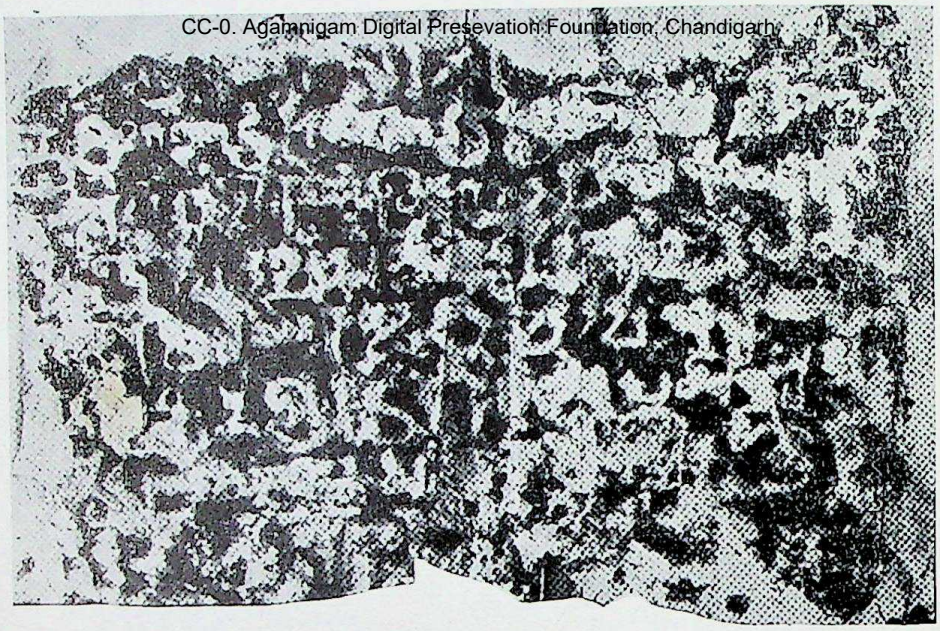
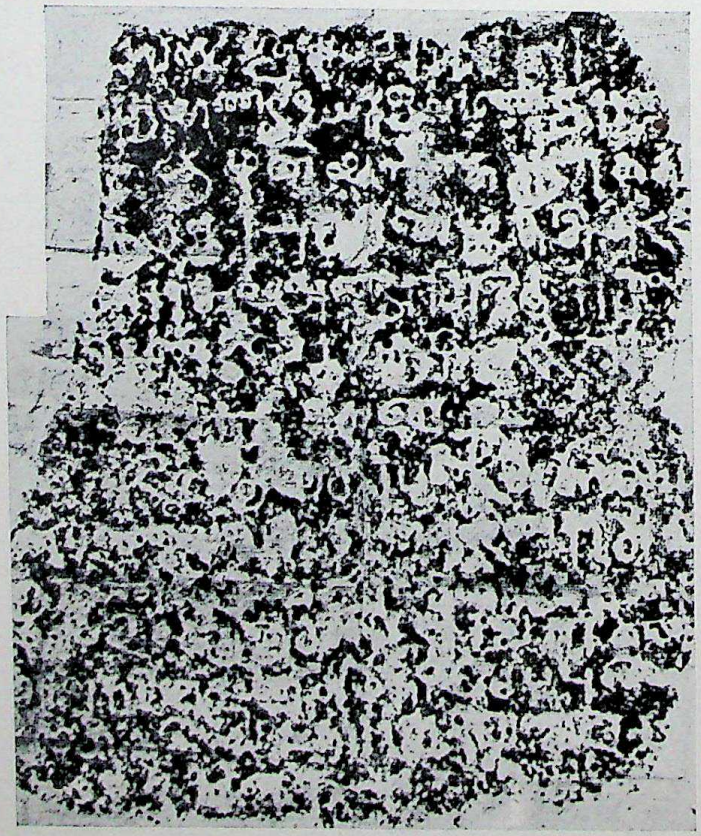


33-b. Munisandai. Text of Nanadesi inscription. Age of Vijayalaya.



33-c. Munisandai. Text of Nanadesi inscription. Age of Parantaka I.

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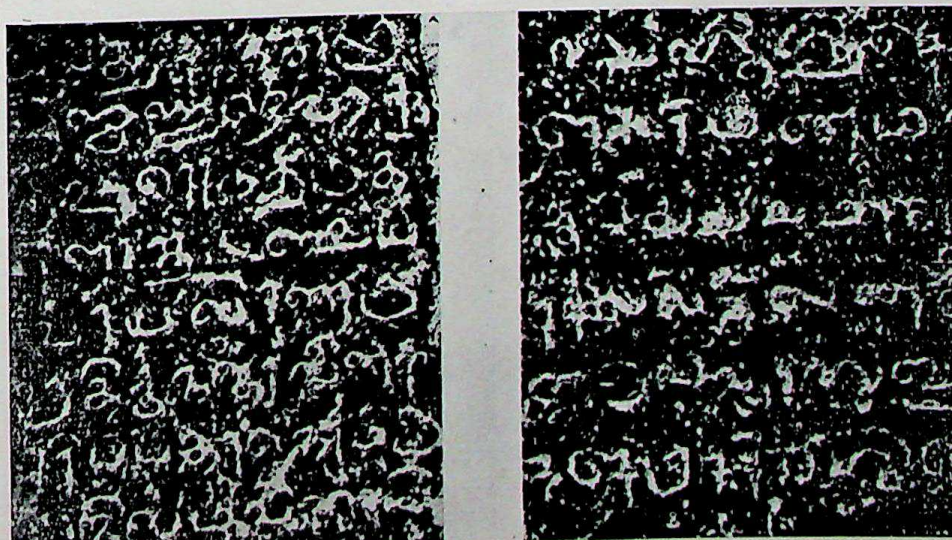
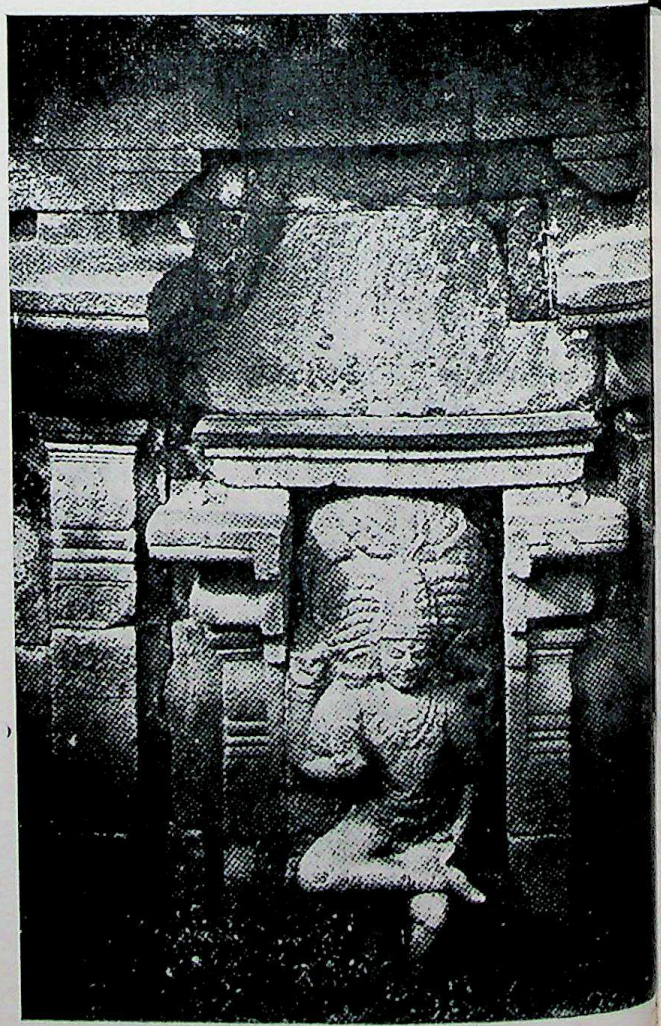
34-a. Kannanur Bala-subrahmanya Temple. Sri Vimana.



34-b. Kannanur Bala-subrahmanya Temple. Inscriptions of Raja-kesarivarman.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

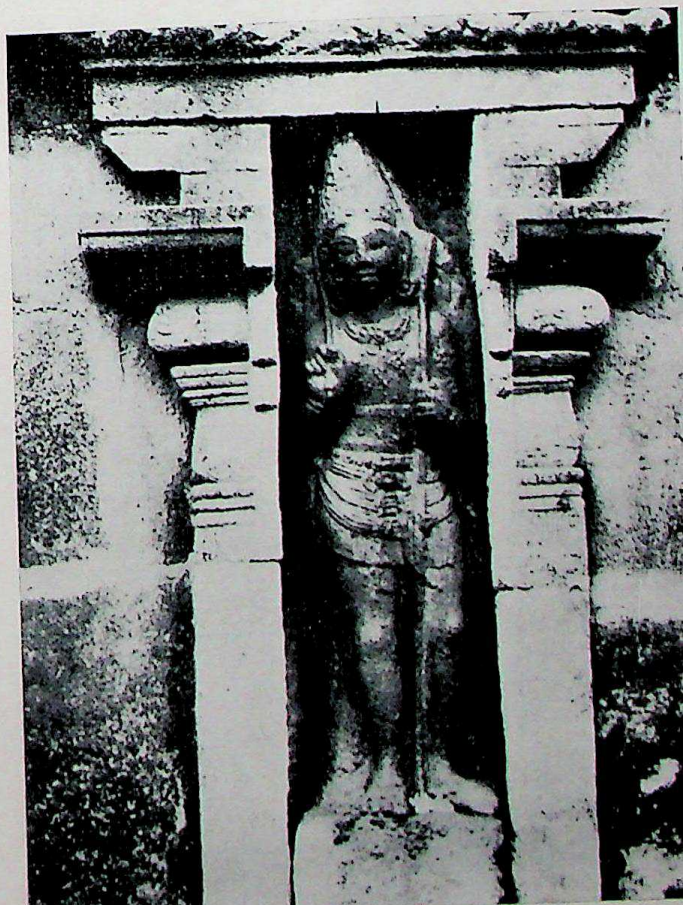
35-a. *Kannanur Balasubrahmanya Temple. Subrahmanya (original deity of the sanctum).*



35-b. *Kannanur Balasubrahmanya Temple. Dakshinamurti.*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

36-a. Tirukkattalai Sundaresvara Temple. Sri Vimana.



36-b. Tirukkattalai Sundaresvara Temple. Tripurantaka.

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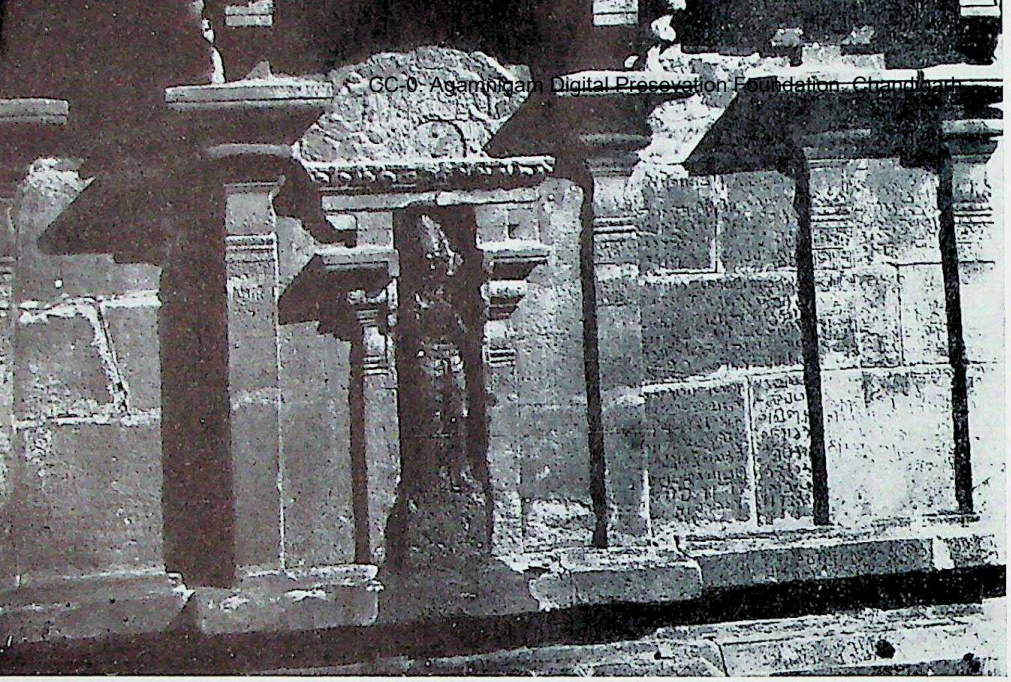

37-a. Tirukkattalai Sundaresvara Temple.
South wall (inscribed) devakoshta and pilasters.

37-b. Tirukkattalai Sundaresvara Temple. Dvarapala.

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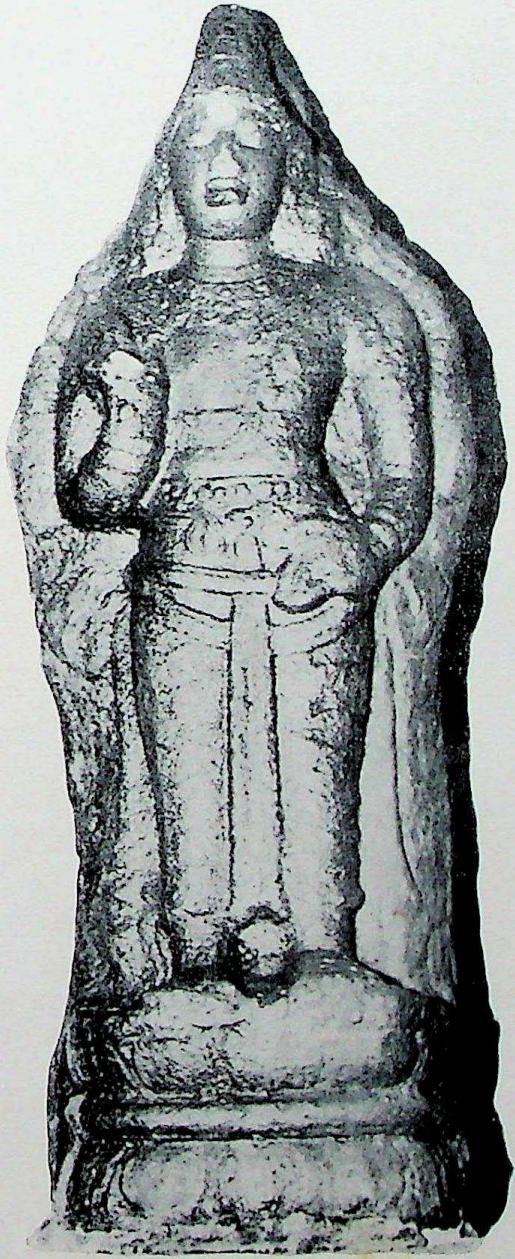

38-a. Tirukkattalai Sundaresvara Temple. Surya (Parivara devata).

38-b. Tirukkattalai Sundaresvara Temple. Subrahmanya (Parivara devata).

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39-a. *Tirukkatalai Sundaresvara Temple. Chandesvara. (Parivara devata).*

39-b. *Tirukkattalai Sundaresvara Temple. Jyesthadevi. (Parivara devata).*

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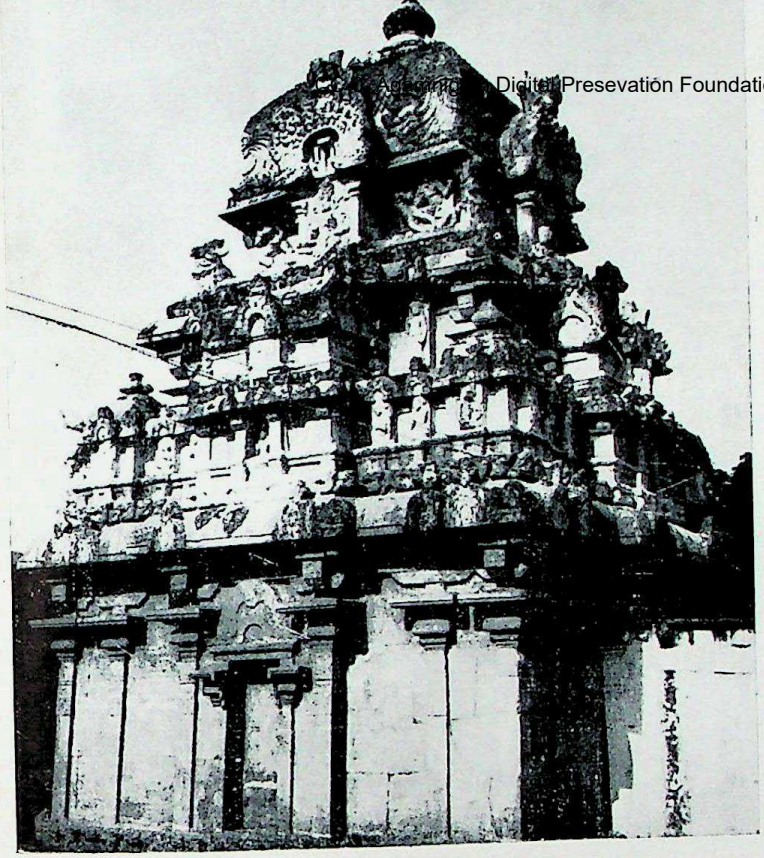
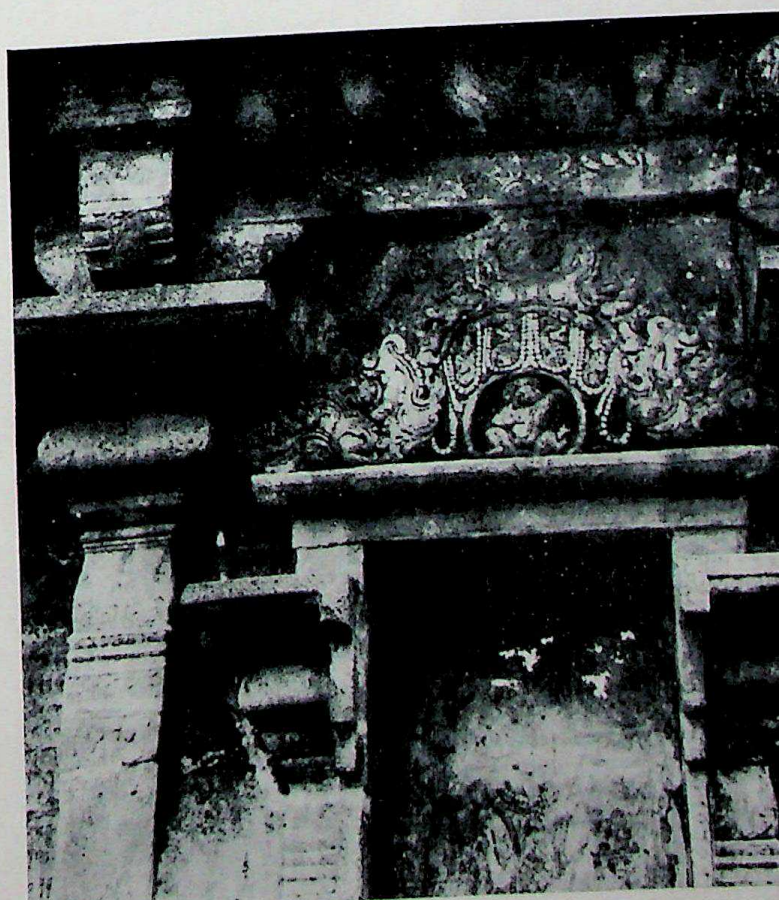


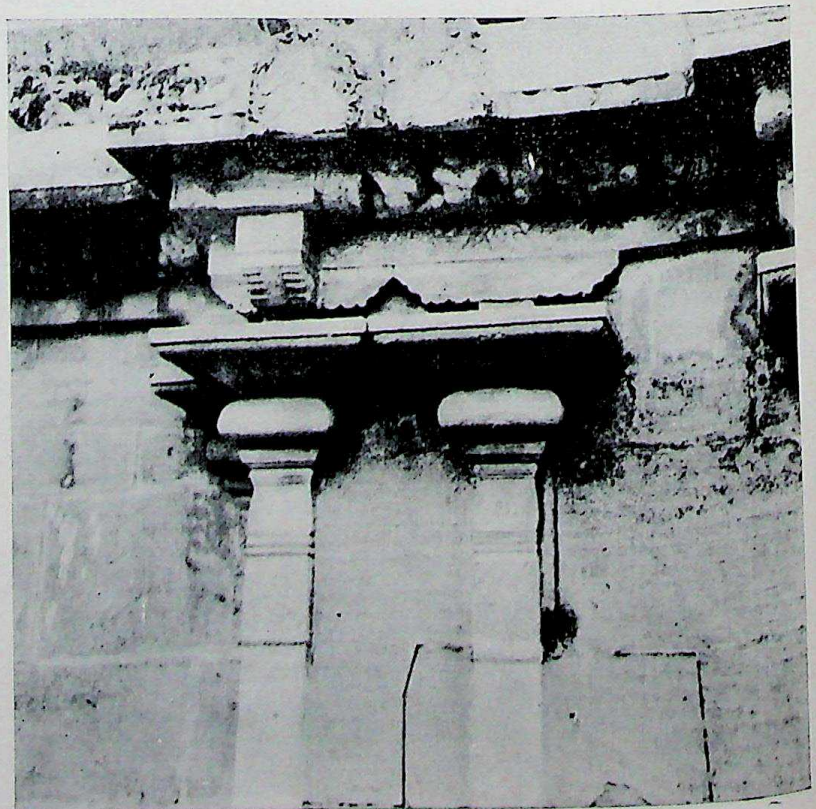
40-a. Tiruchchendurai Chandrasekhara Temple. Sri Vimana.



40-b. Tiruchchendurai Chandrasekhara Temple. Makara Torana.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

41-a. Tiruchhendurai Chandrasekhara Temple. Vrishabhantika.



41-b. Tiruchchendurai Chandrasekhara Temple. Pilaster and Kondungai.

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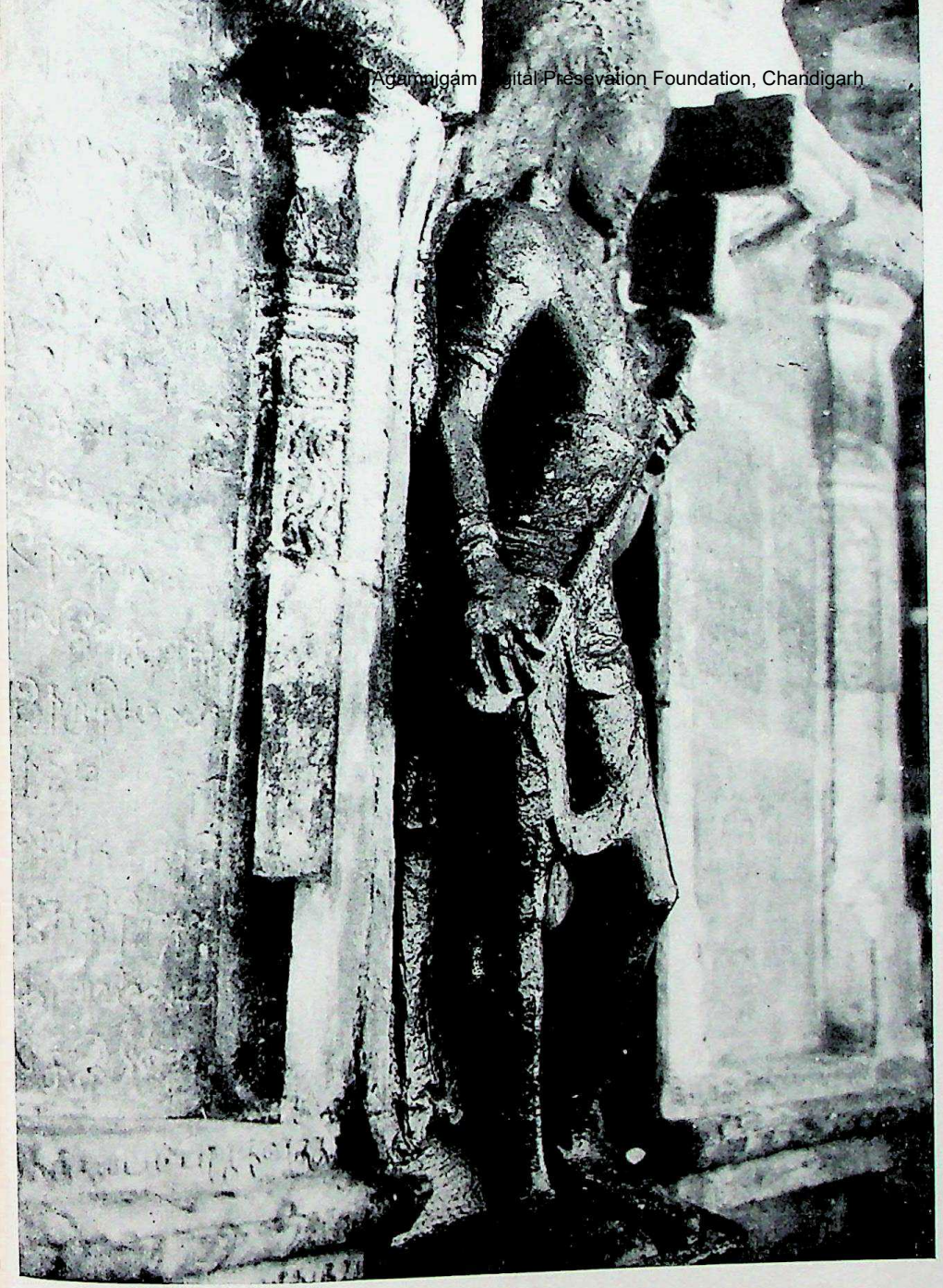
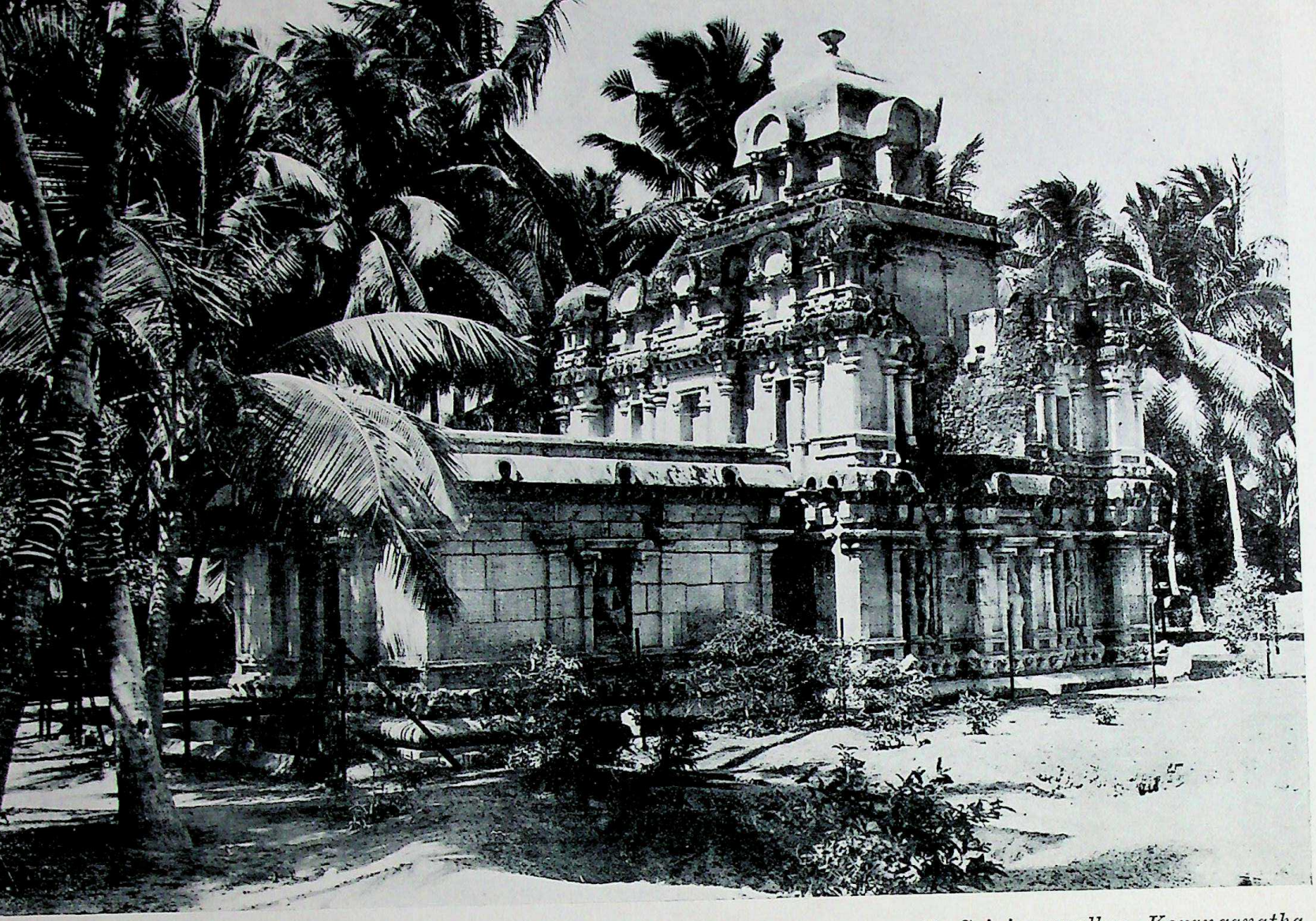


42. *Lalgudy Saptarishisvara Temple.*
Vinadhara Dakshinamurti.



43. *Srinivasanallur Koranganatha Temple. Shi Vimana.*

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44. Srinivasanallur Koranganatha Temple.
Moulded basement.

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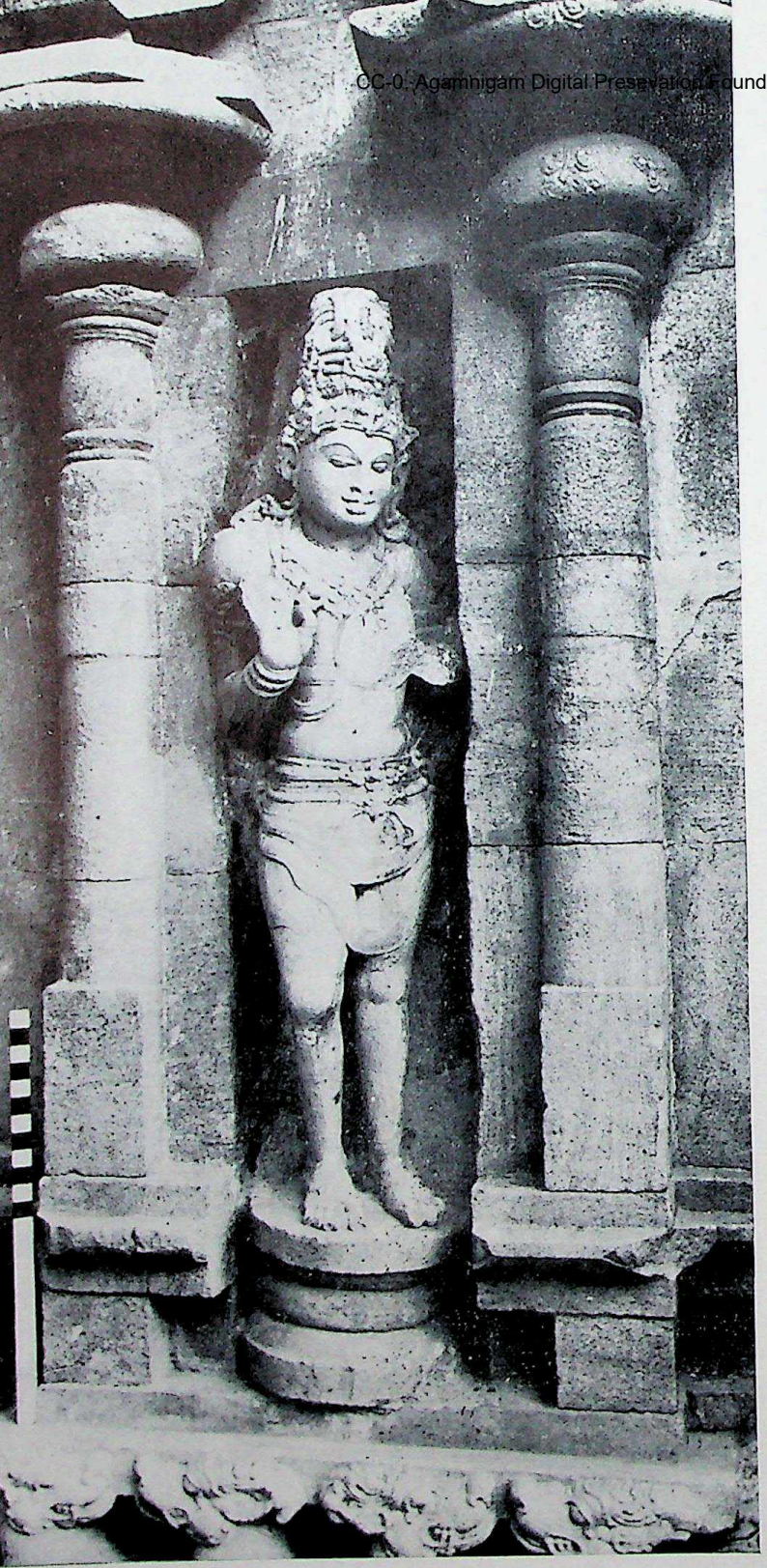

45. *Srinivasanallur Koranganatha Temple. A male figure.*

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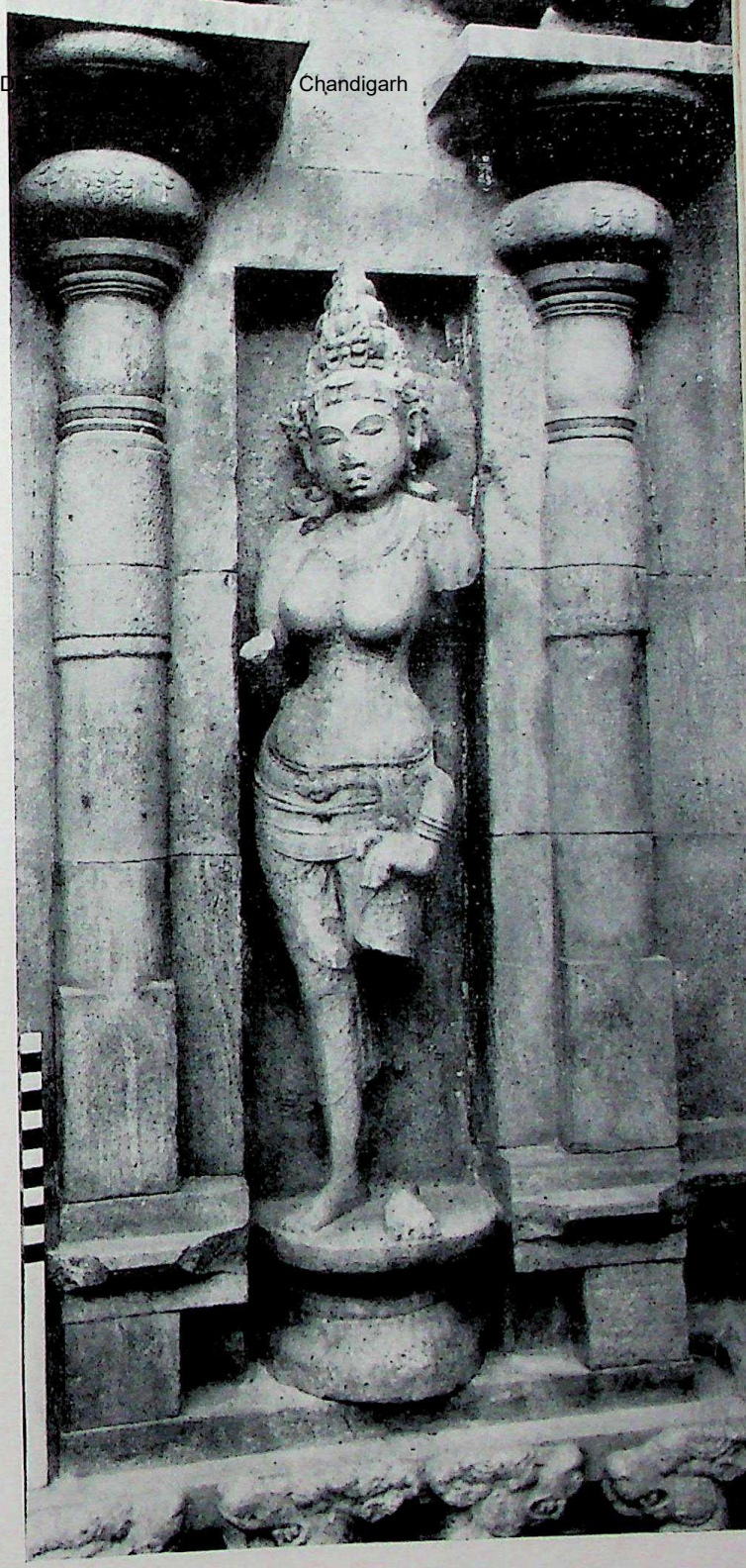
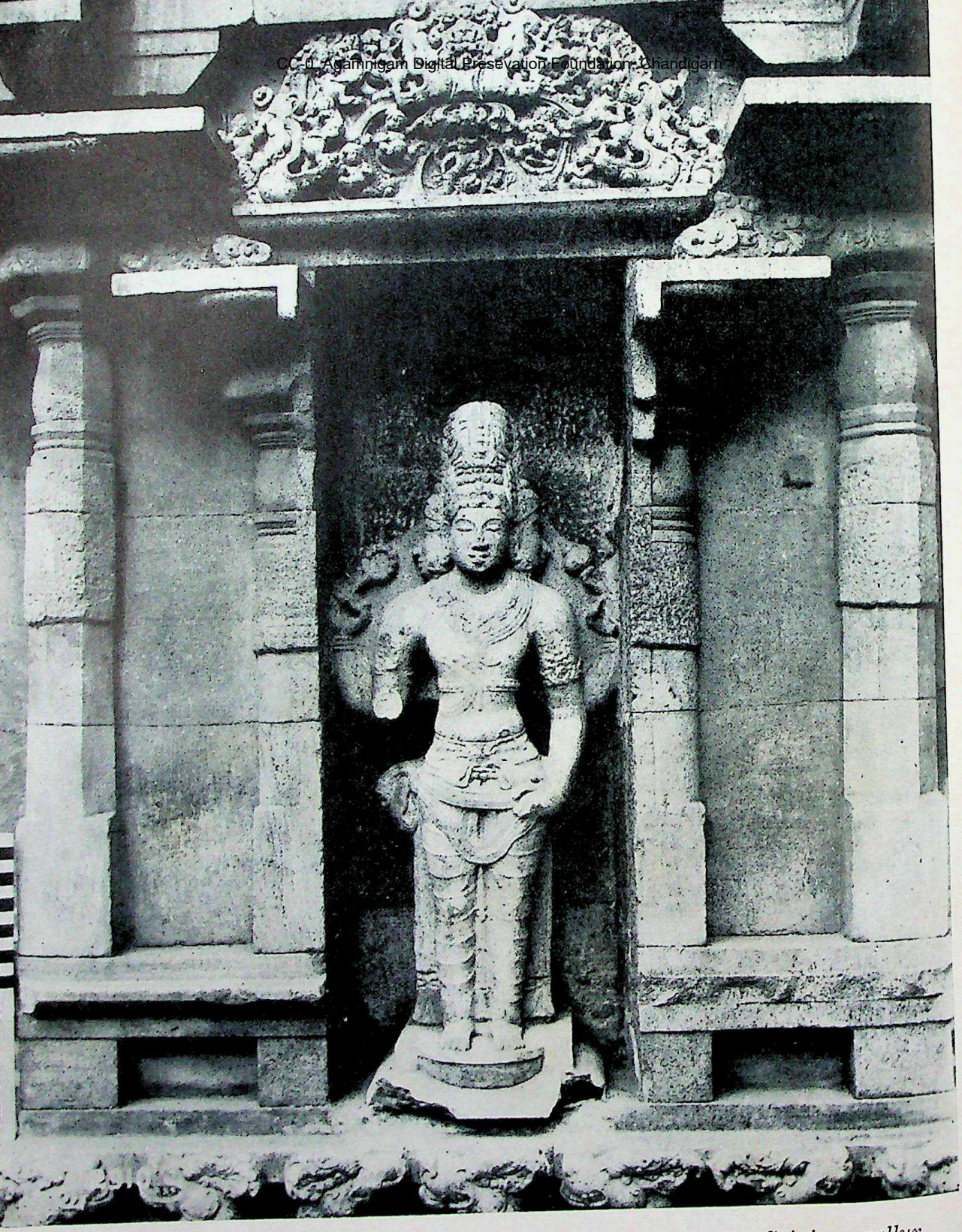


46. *Srinivasanallur Koranganatha Temple. A female figure.*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh



47. *Srinivasanallur Koranganatha Temple. Brahma.*

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48. *Srinivasanallur Koranganatha Temple. Dakshinamurti.*

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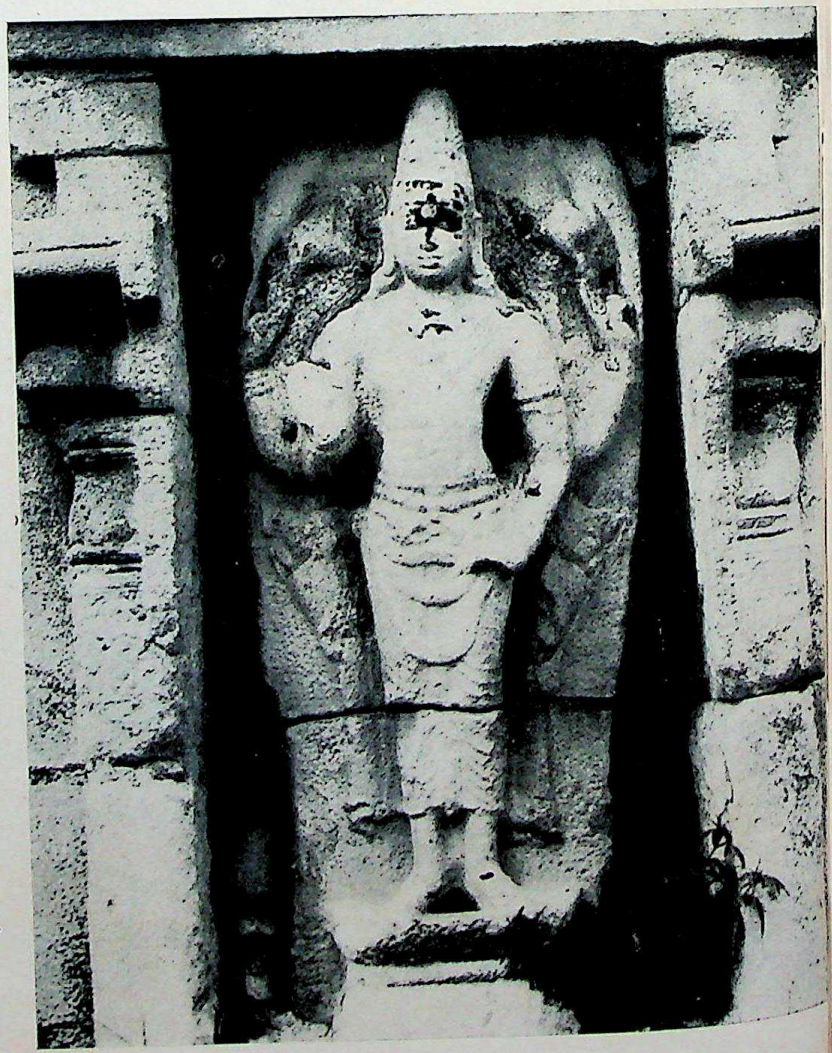
49-b. *Alambakkam Kailasanatha Temple. Vishnu.*

49-a. *Alambakkam Kailasanatha Temple. Dvarapala.*



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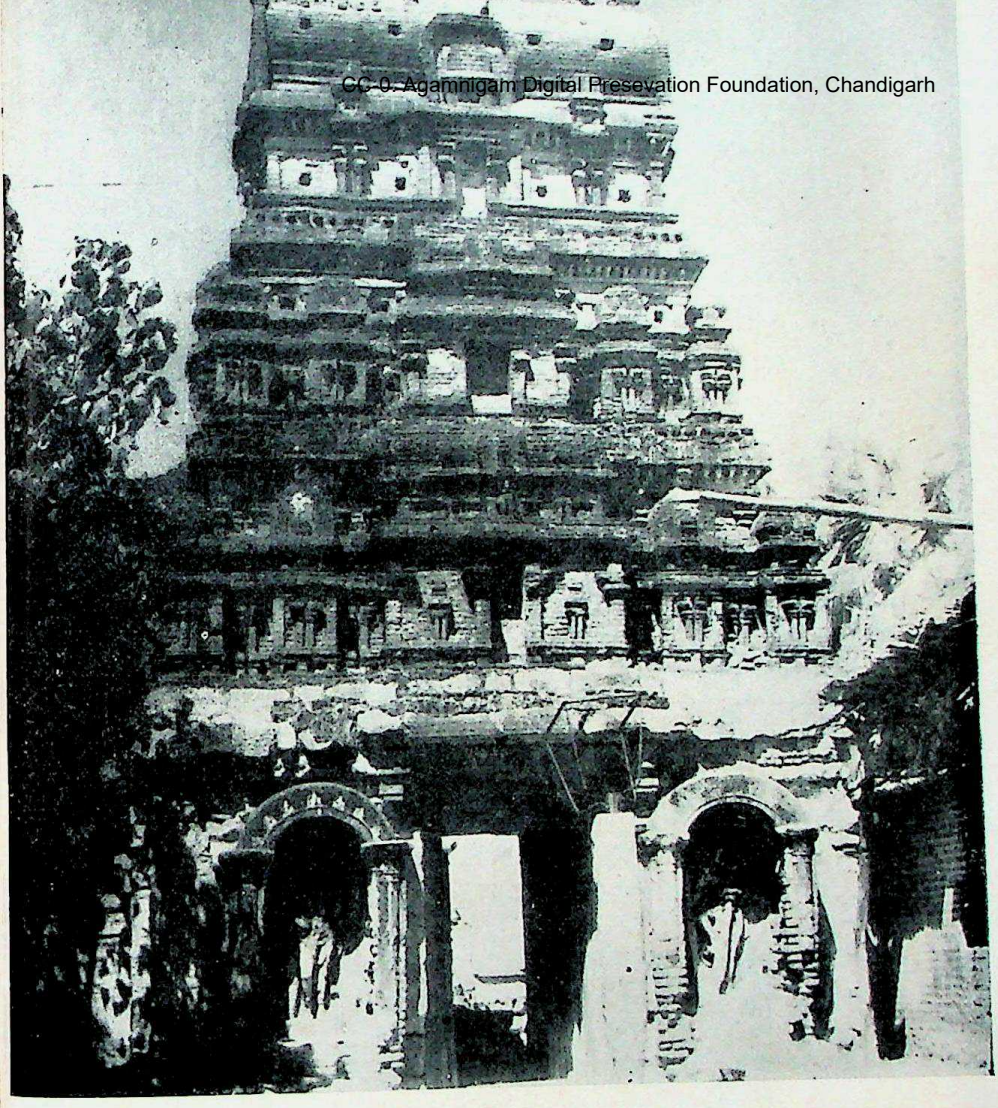
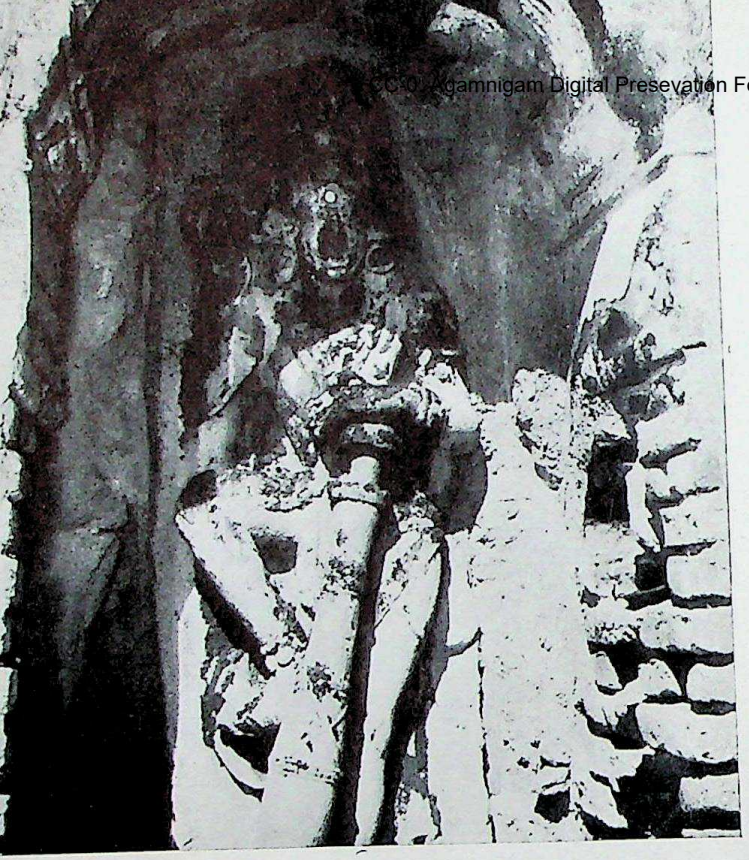


50. *Kilaiyur. Avani Kandarpa Isvaragriham. Gopuram.*

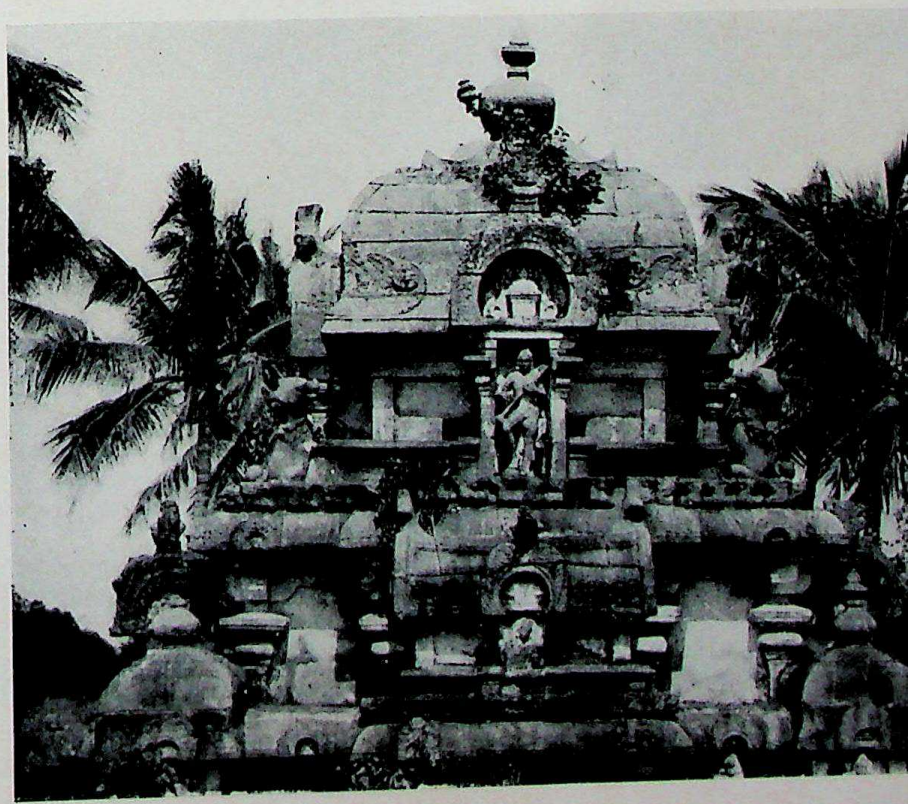
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



51. Kilaiyur. Avani Kandarpa Isvaragriham. Gopuram dvarapalas.

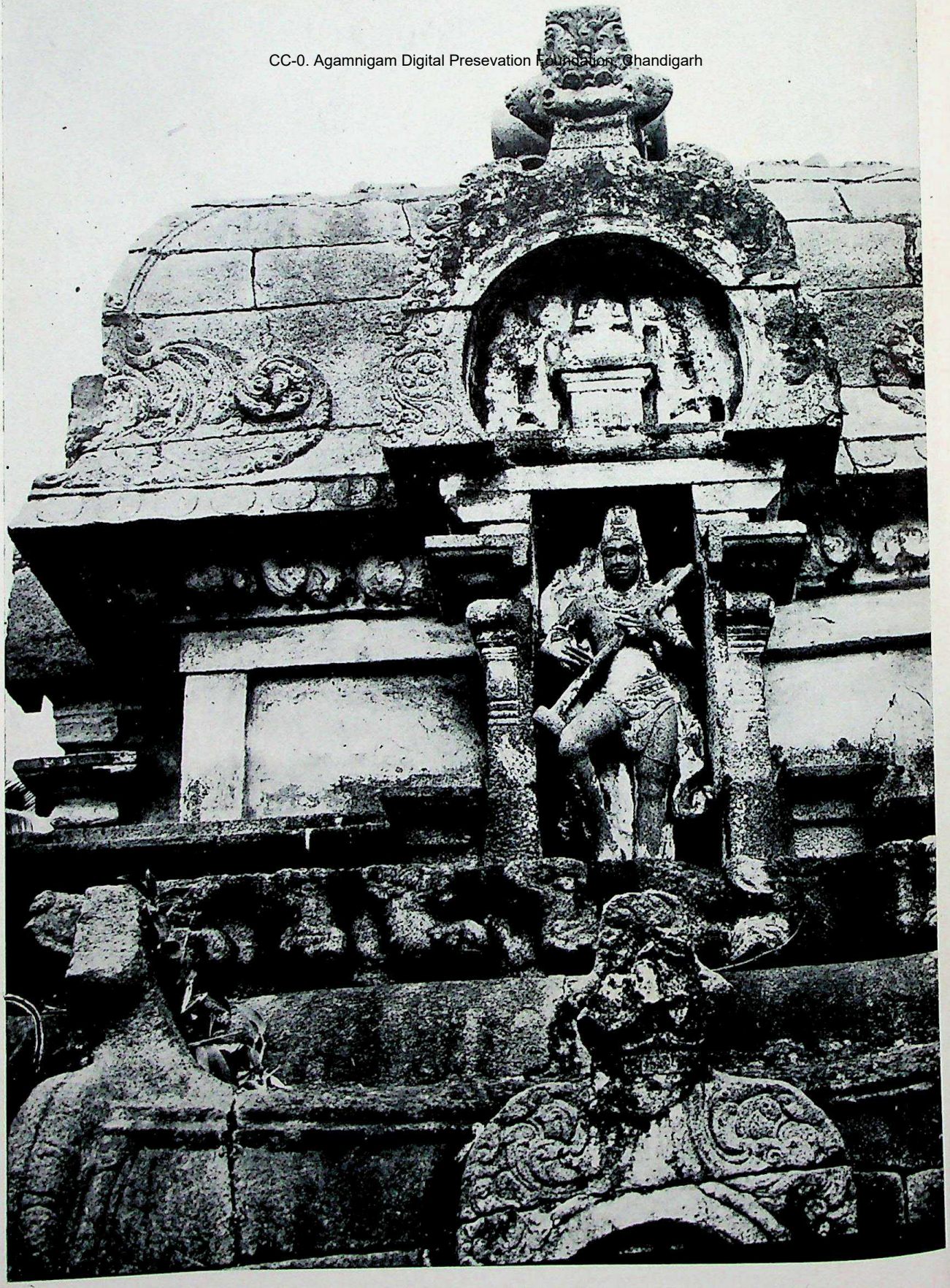
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

52-a. Kilaiyur. Avani Kandarpa Isvaragriham. Twin shrines of Agastyesvaram and Cholisvaram.



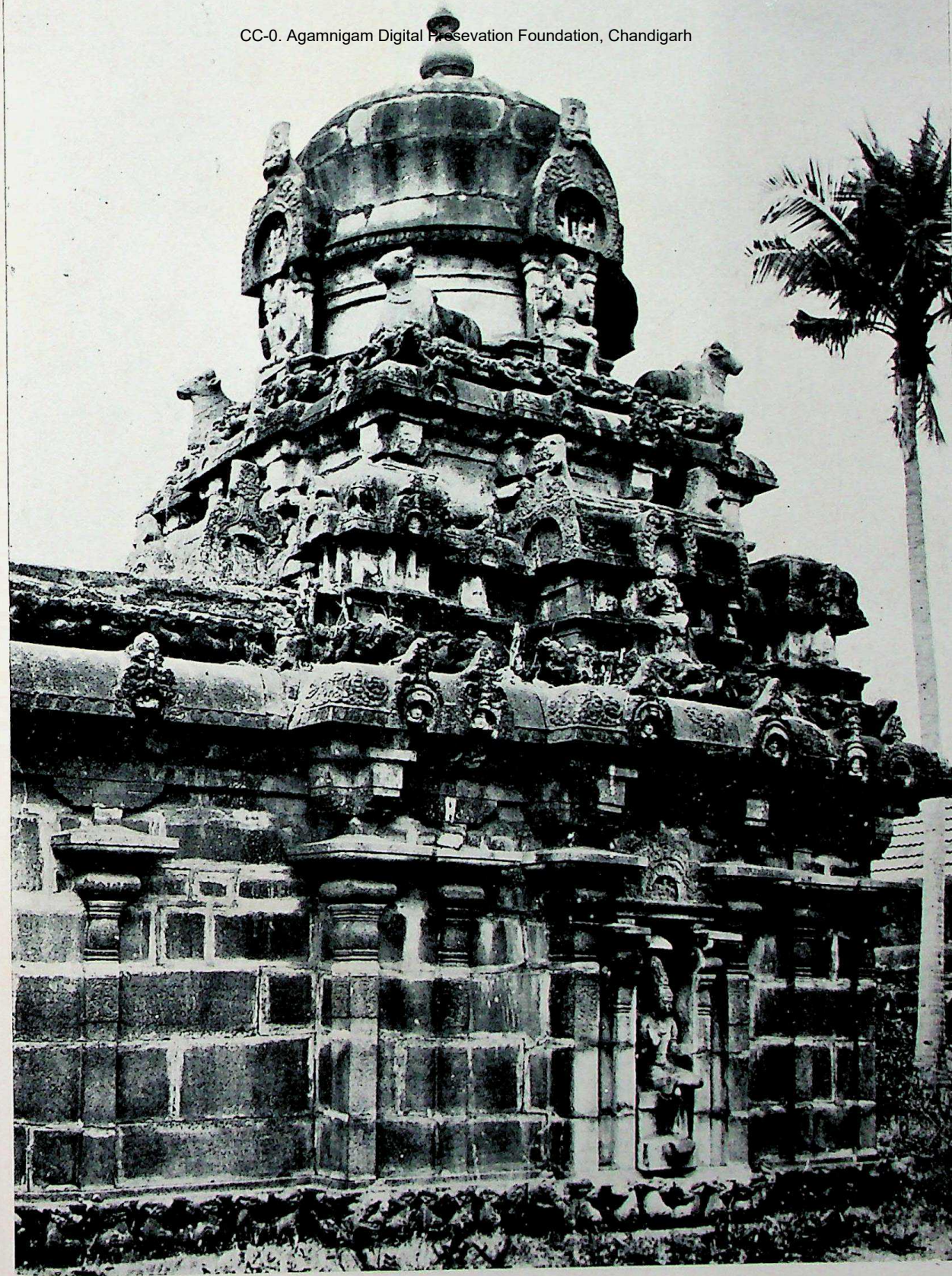
52-b. Kilaiyur. Avani Kandarpa Isvaragriham. Agastyesvaram.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



53. *Agastyesvaram. Vinadhara Dakshinamurti (griva).*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

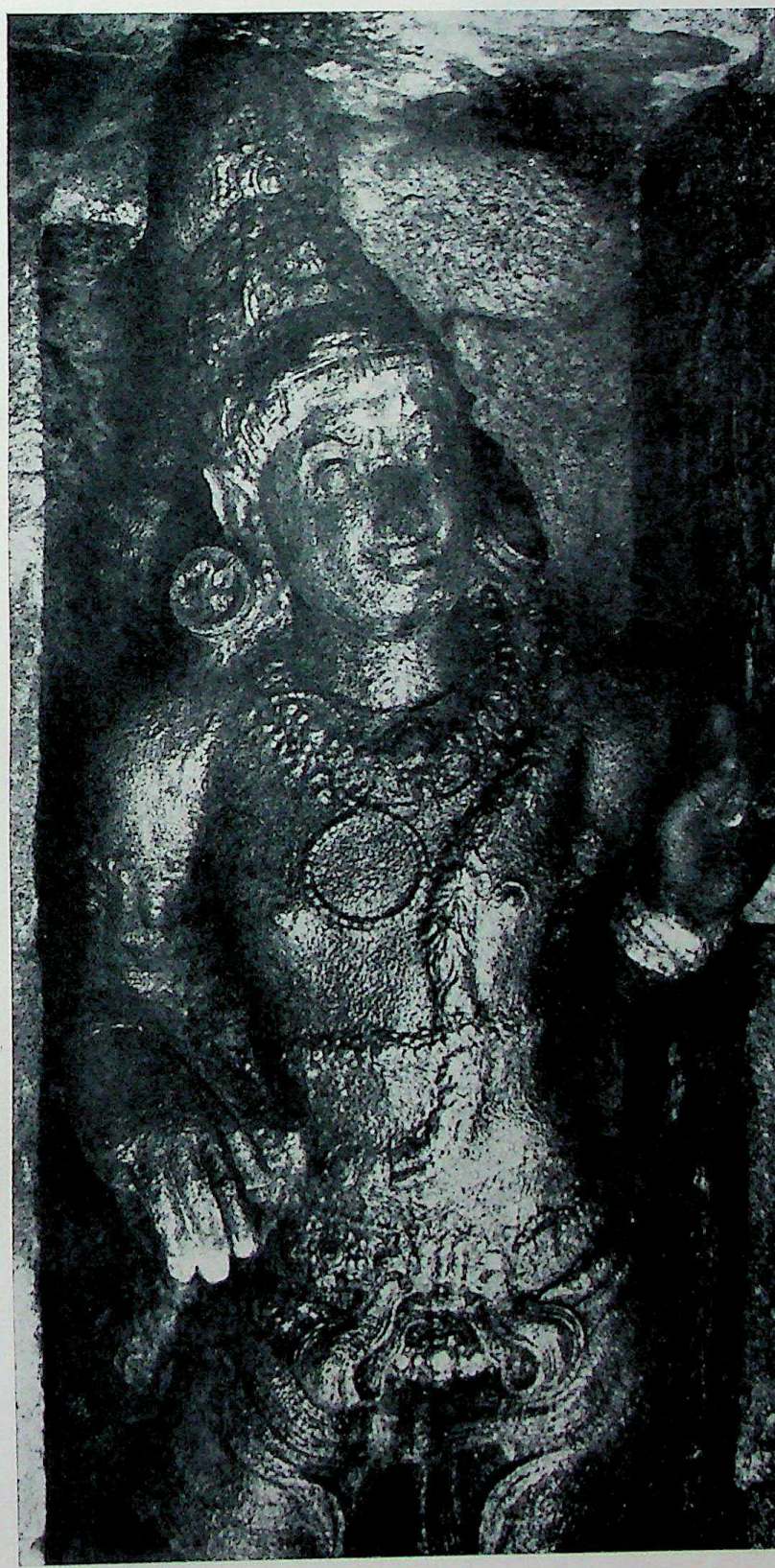


54. Cholisvaram. Sri Vimana.

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

55. *Cholisvaram.*
Dvarapala.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



56. *Cholisvaram.*
Dvarapala.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

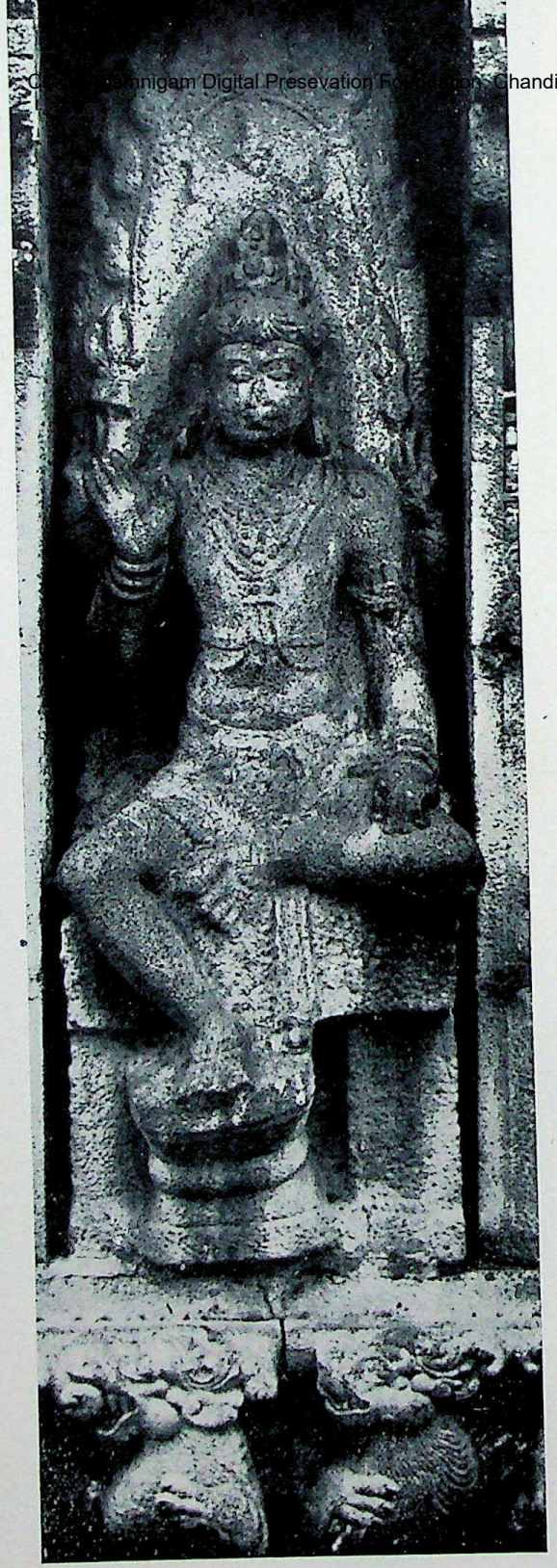
57. *Agastyesvaram.*
Siva (Dakshinamurti).

58. *Agastyesvaram.*
Subrahmanya.

CC-0. Agamnigam Research Foundation, Chennai.

59. *Cholisvaram.*
Dakshinamurti.

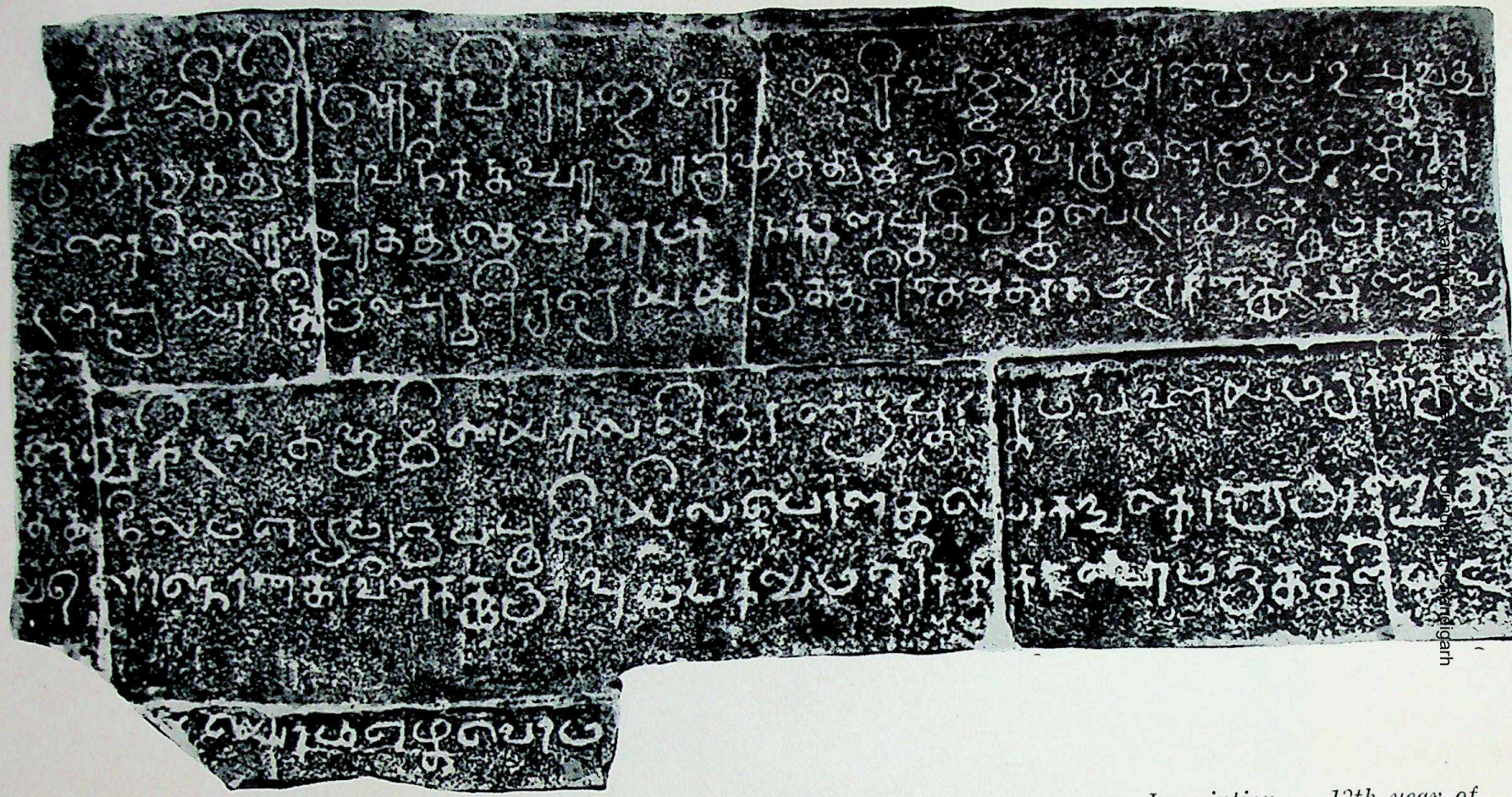
CC-0. Panninigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



60. *Cholisvaram.*
Subrahmanya.

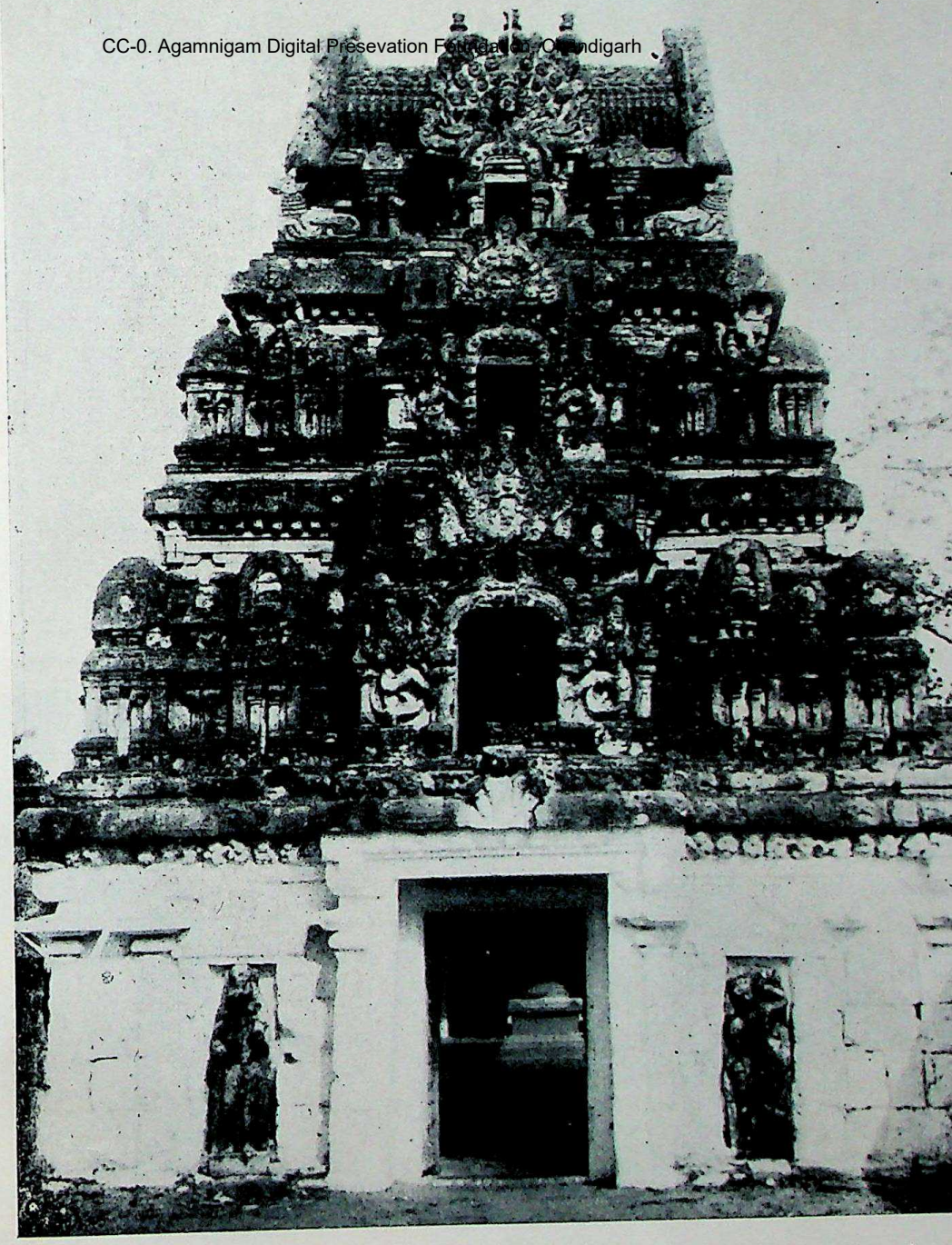
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

61. Agastyesvaram. Inscription——22nd year of Rajakesarivarman.



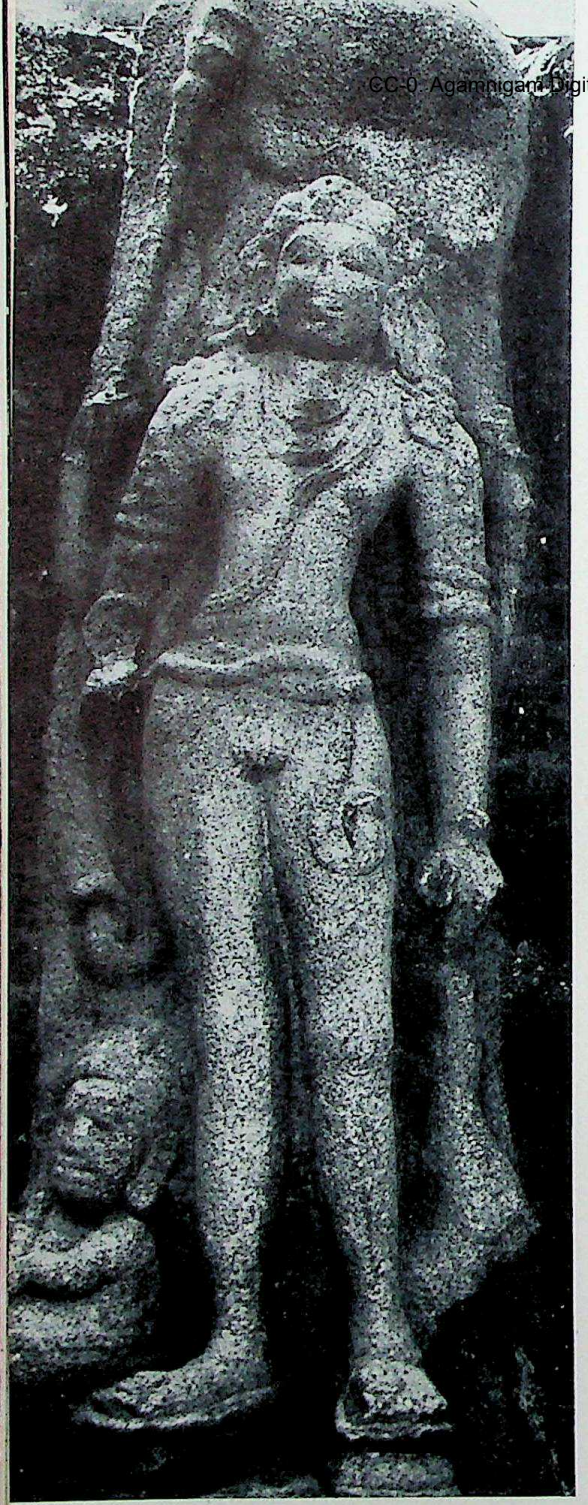
62. *Agastyesvaram. Inscription — 13th year of Rajakesarivarman.*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



63. *Melappaluvur. Sundaresvara Temple. Gopuram (with dvarapalas).*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



64. *Melappaluvur. Sundaresvara Temple. Bhikshatanamurti.*

65. *Melappaluvur. Sundaresvara Temple. Chandesvara.*

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66. *Tiruverumbur, Tiru-Erumbesvaram, Hari-Hara. (Devakoshta figure).*

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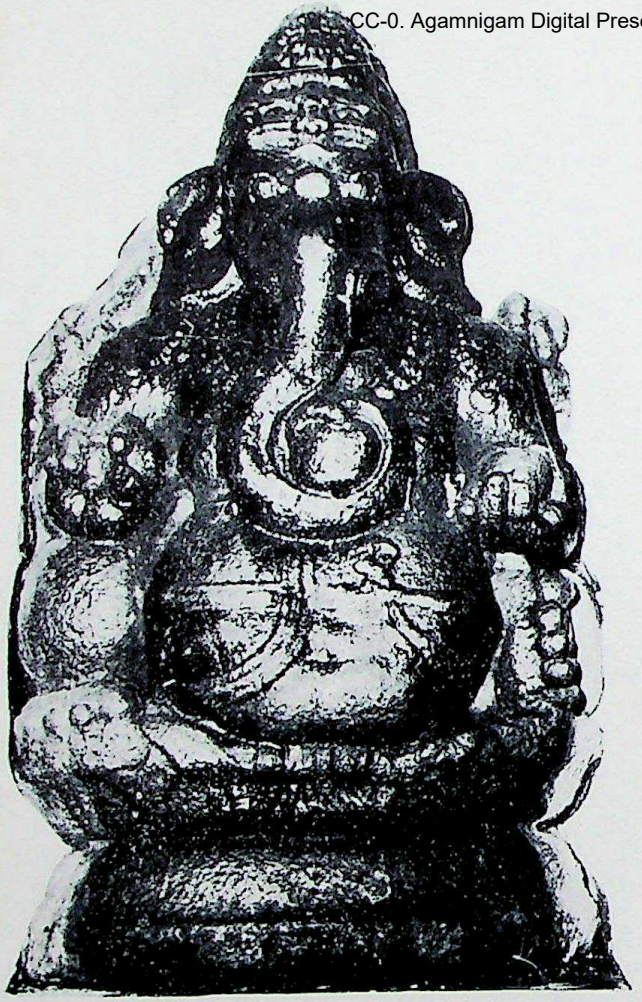

67-a. Tiruverumbur, Tiru-Erumbesvaram, Ganapati (Devakoshta figure).

67-b. Tiruverumbur, Tiru-Erumbesvaram. Chandesvara (parivaradevata).

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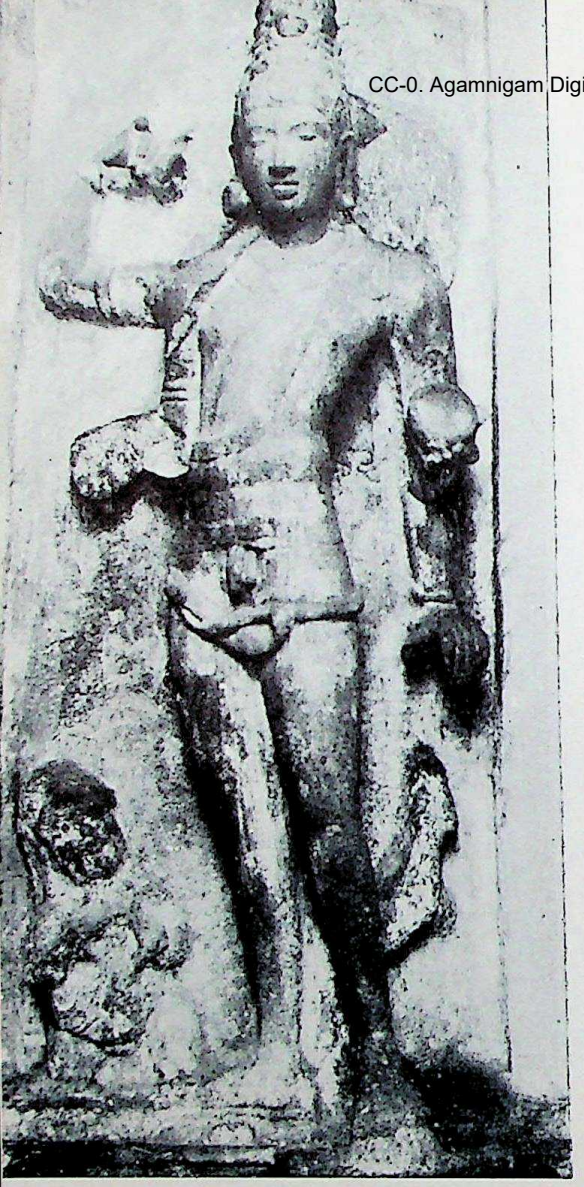
68-b. Tiruverumbur, Tiru-Erumbesvaram. Subrahmanya (parivaradevata).

68-a. Tiruverumbur, Tiru-Erumbesvaram. Surya (parivaradevata).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



69-a. Kumbakonam, Nagesvara temple. Bhikshatana (deva-koshta figure).

69-b. Kumbakonam, Nagesvara temple. Brahma (deva-koshta figure).

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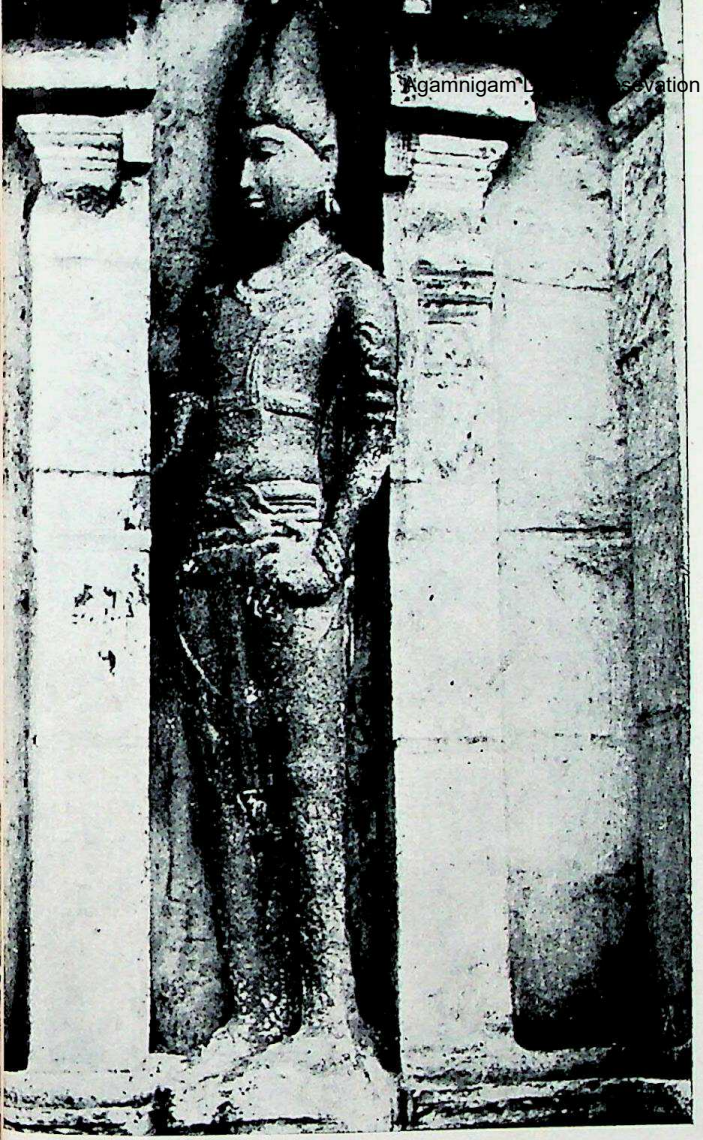

70-a. Kumbakonam, Nagesvara temple. A male figure.

70-b. Kumbakonam, Nagesvara temple. A female figure.

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71. Kumbakonam, Nagesvara temple. A male figure.

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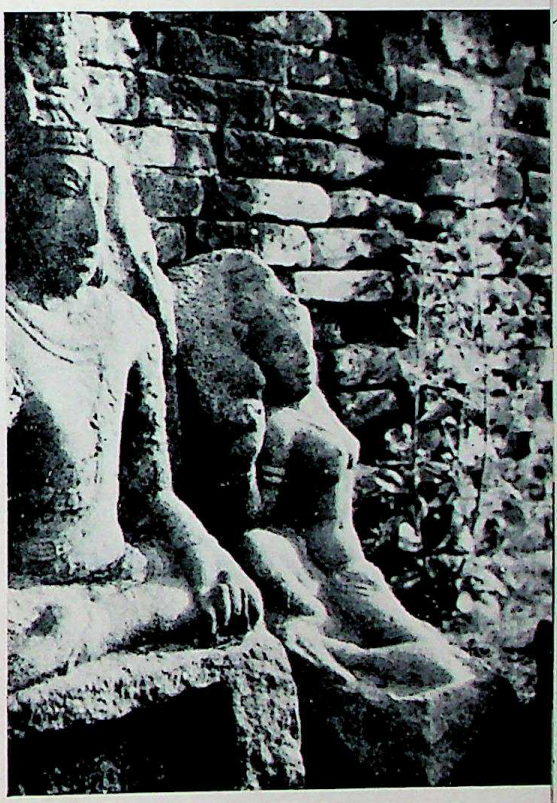
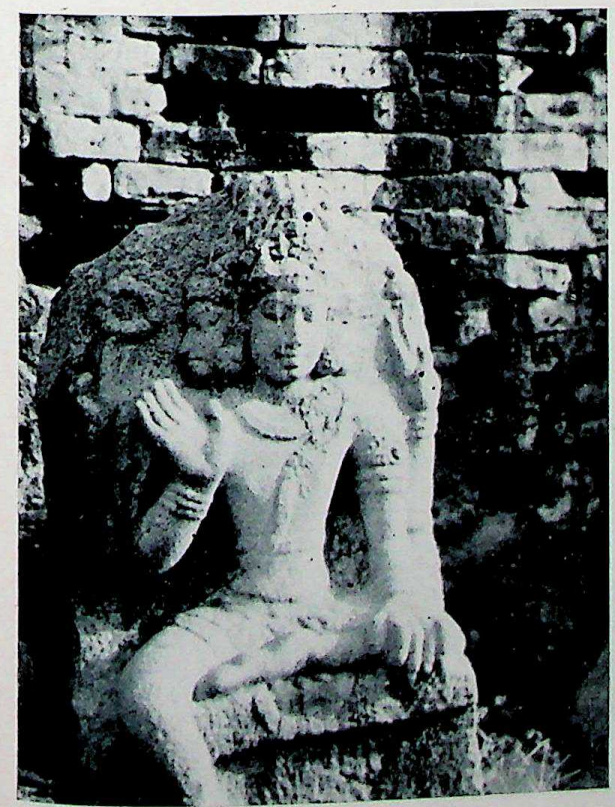
72-a. Sendalai, Sundaresvara temple. Brahma, Siva and Parvati (found loose in the compound).



72-b. Sendalai, Sundaresvara temple. Siva and Parvati.



72-c. Sendalai, Sundaresvara temple. Brahma.

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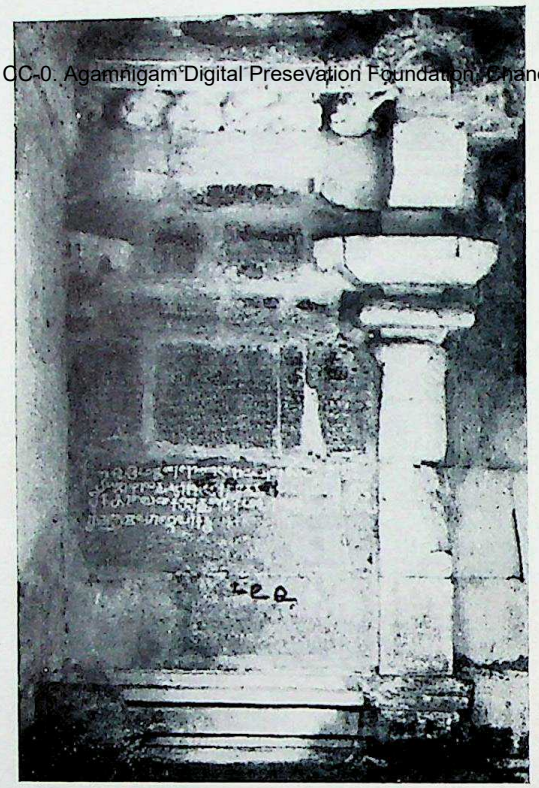
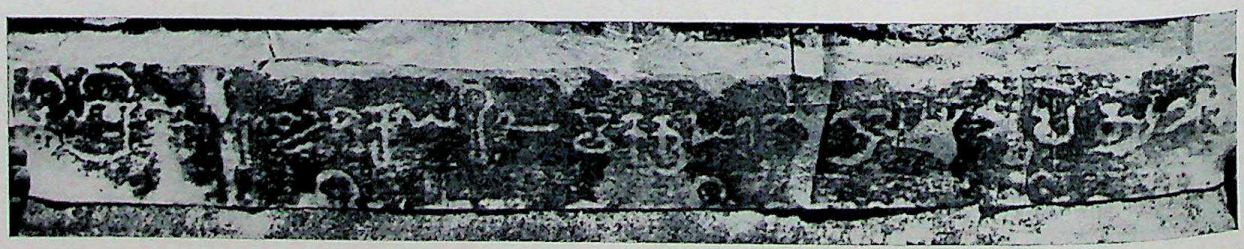
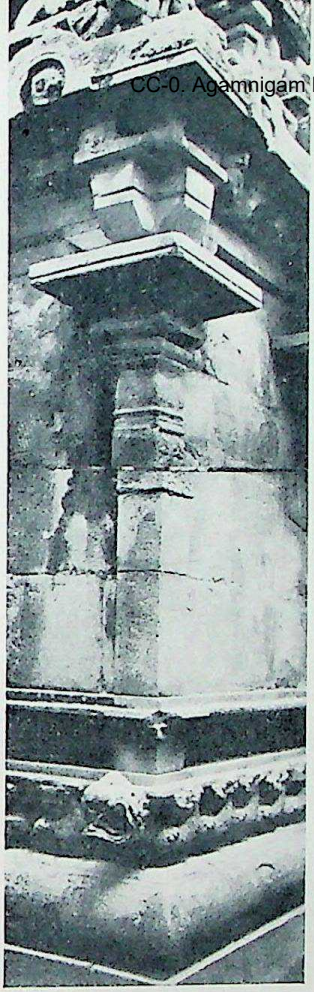


72-d. Sendalai, Sundaresvara Temple. Inscribed southern wall of garbhagriha, with Aditya I's inscriptions.



72-e. Sendalai, Sundaresvara Temple. 24th year inscription of Aditya I.

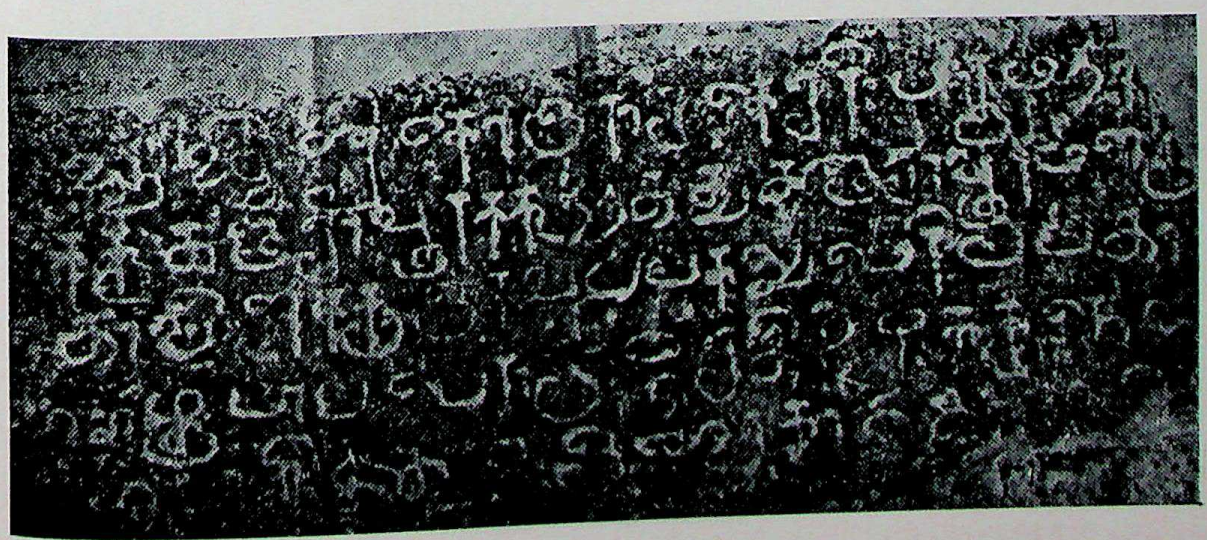
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



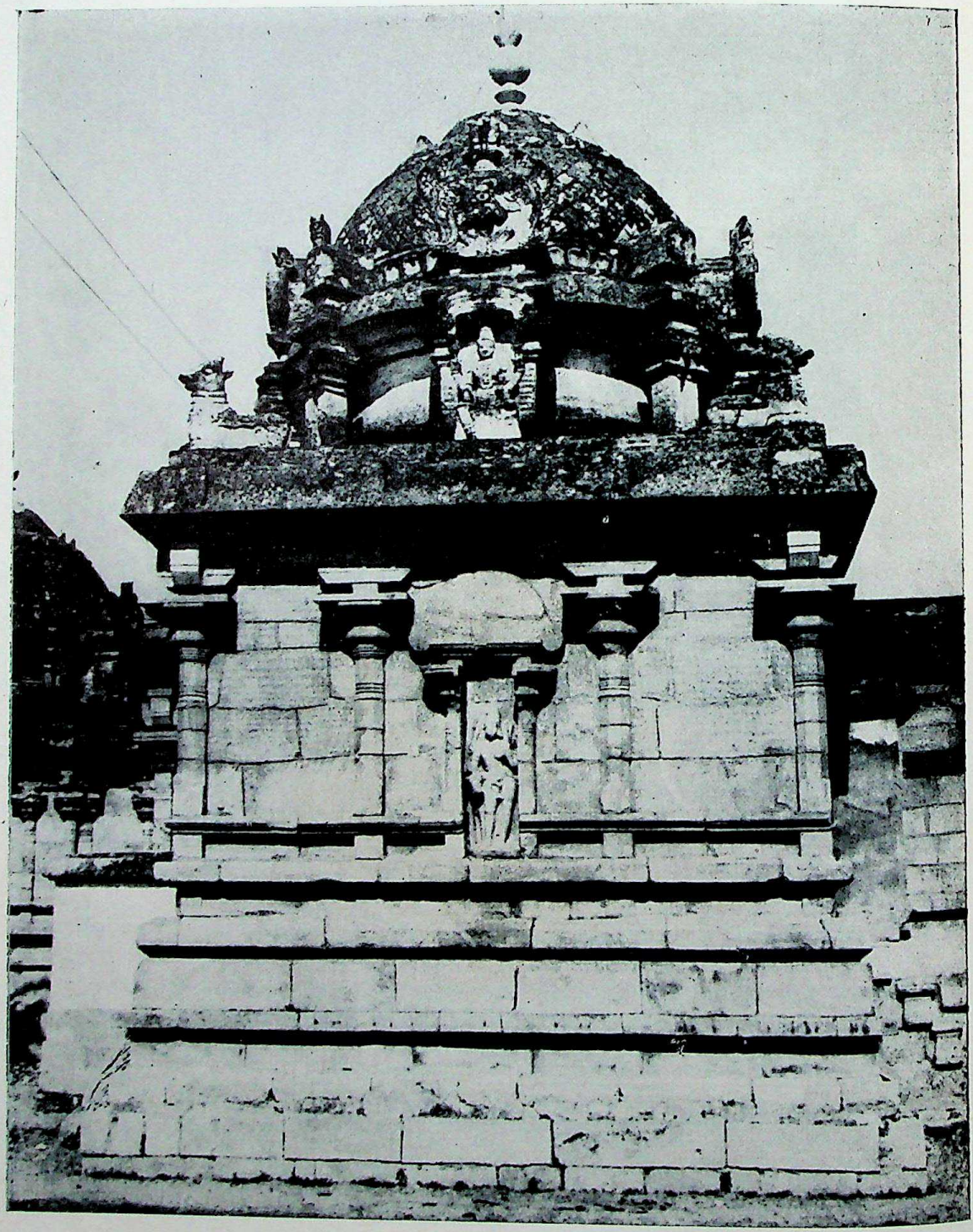
73-a. *Tirukattupalli, Agnisvara Temple. North-west view showing adhistana, stambha and its parts, yali frieze, and kudu and kodungai of the vimana.*

73-b. *Tirukattupalli, Agnisvara Temple. Yoga Dakshinamurti (a figure in the griva now covered with stucco).*

73-c. *Tirukattupalli, Agnisvara Temple. A fragmentary inscription of Rajakesarivarman.*



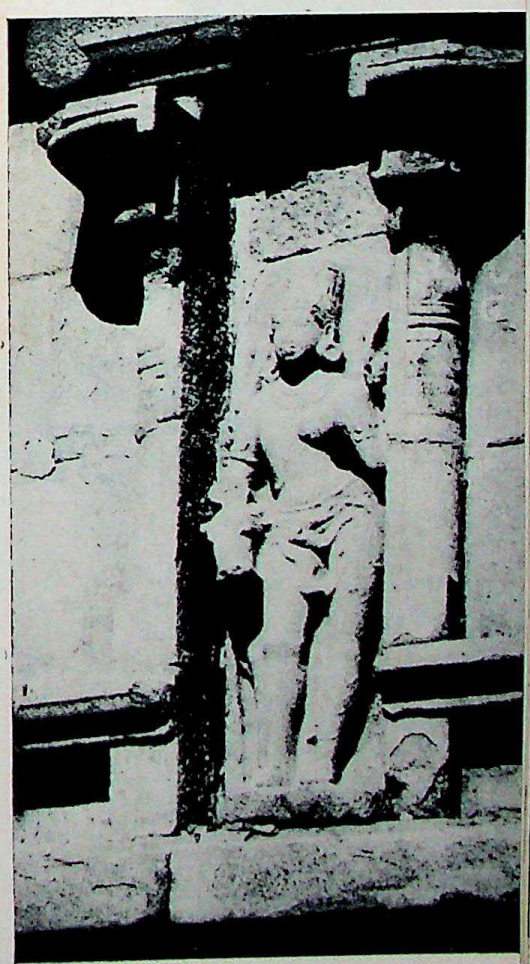
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



74. Koviladi, Siva Temple. Vimana (sikhara renovated).

Foundation, Chandigarh

75-a. Koviladi, Siva temple. Ganapati (devakoshta figure).



75-b. Koviladi, Siva temple. Ardhanari (devakoshta figure).

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76-a. Koviladi, Siva temple.
Dvarapala.

76-b. Koviladi, Siva temple.
Dvarapala.

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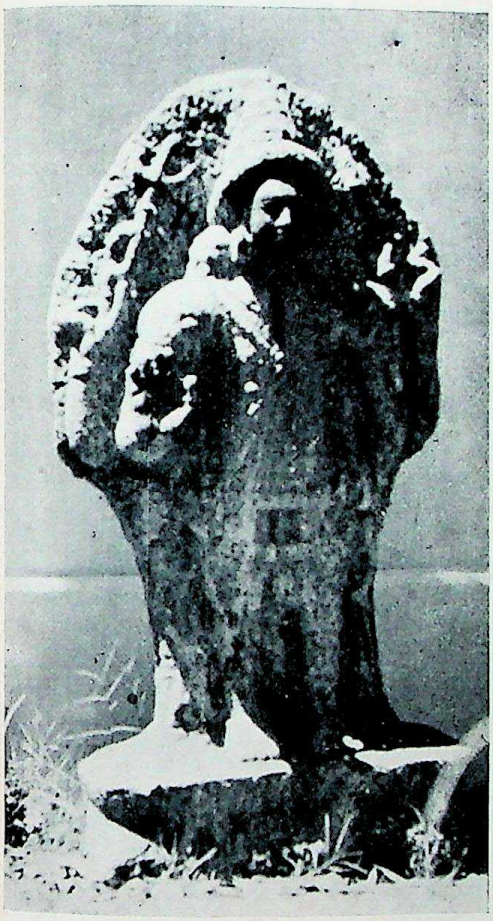

76-c. Koviladi, Siva temple. Subrahmanya (parivara-devata ?)

76-d. Koviladi, Siva temple. 4th year Rajakesari inscription.

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77-a. Tirukkandiyur, Virattanes-varar temple. Ganapati.

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77-b. Tirukkandiyur, Virattanesvarar temple. Brahma (in the round).

77-c. Tirukkandiyur, Virattanesvarar temple. Surya.

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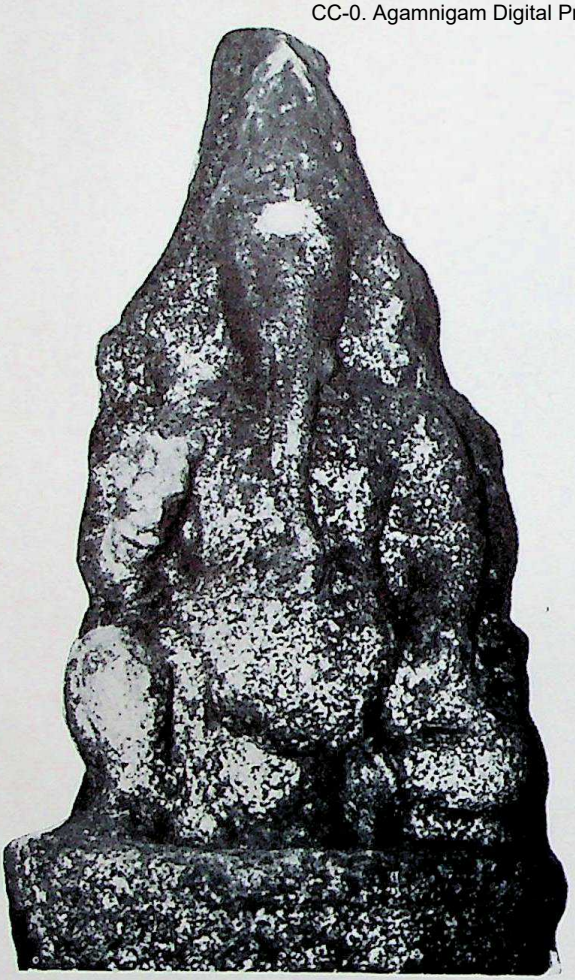

78-a. Tiruppalanam, Apatsahayesvarar temple. Ganapati.

78-b. Tiruppalanam, Apatsahayesvarar temple. Appar.

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79 *a*

79 *b*

79 *c*

79-a, b, c, Tiruppalanam, Apatsahayesvarar Temple. Dvarapalas.

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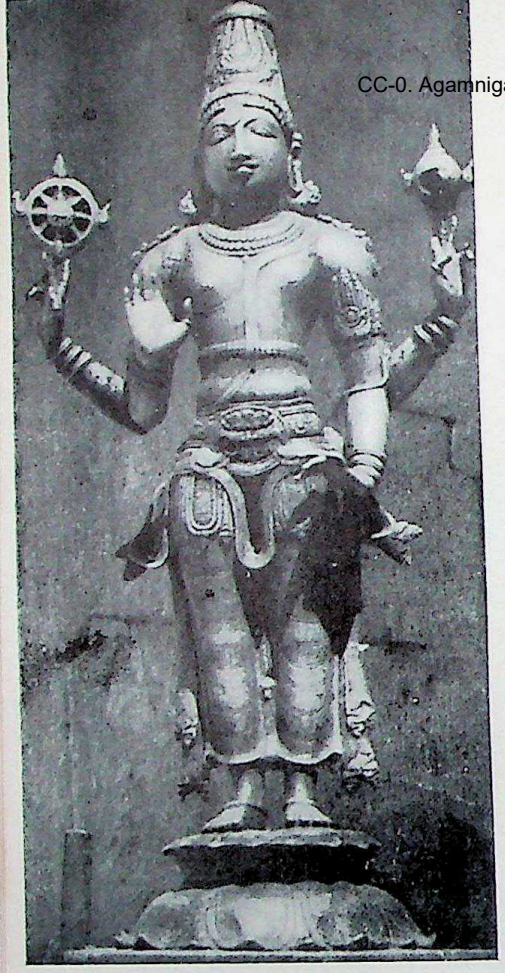
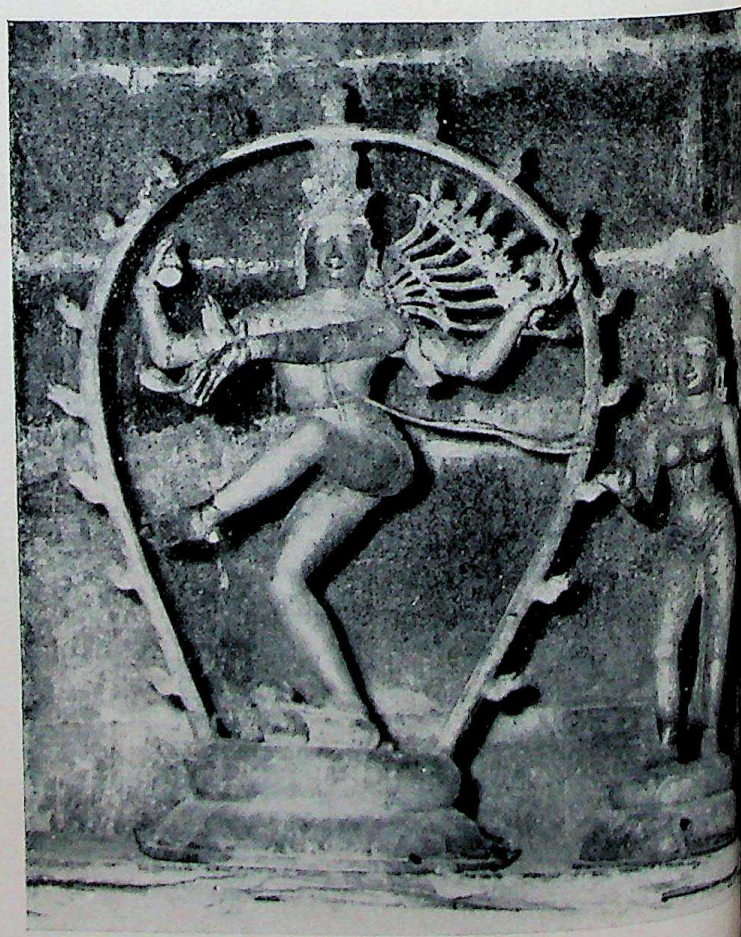


80-a. Tiruppalanam, Apatsahayesvarar Temple. Vishnu.



80-b. Tiruppalanam, Apatsahayesvarar Temple. Nataraja and His Consort.

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81-a. Tiruvedikudi, Vedapurisvara Temple. Ganapati.

81-b. Tiruvedikudi, Vedapurisvara Temple. Nataraja.

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82-a. Tillaisthanam, Neyyadiyappar Temple. Standing Siva. (Devakoshta).

82-b. Tillaisthanam, Neyyadiyappar Temple. Dakshinamurti (original ?).

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83. Tiruvidaimarudur, Mahalinga-
-svamin Temple. Vimana.

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84. *Tiruvidaimarudur, Mahalinga-svamin Temple. Subrahmanya.*

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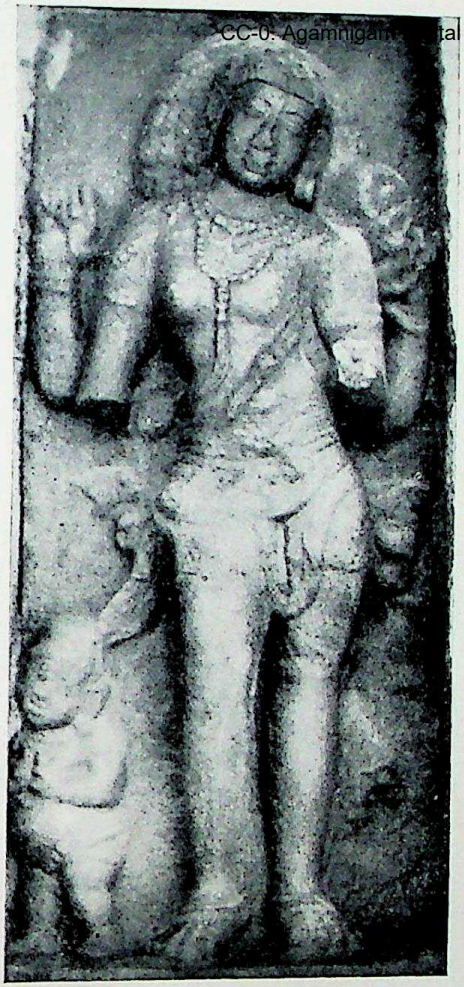
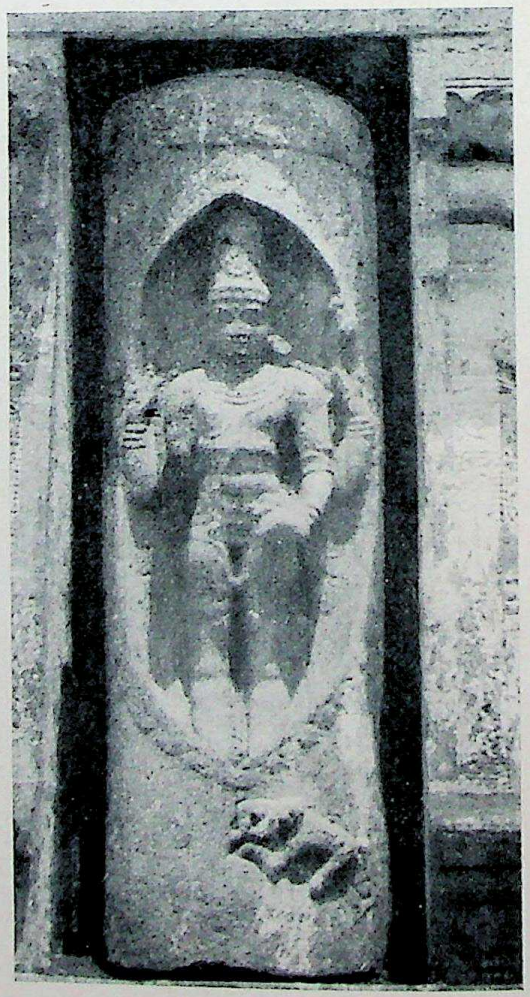


85-a & b. Tiruppurambiyam, Sakshyesvara (Adityesvara) Temple. Bhikshatana.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

86-a. Nalur Mayanam.
Surya (parivara-devata).



86-b. Nalur Mayanam.
Lingodbhava (devakoshta).

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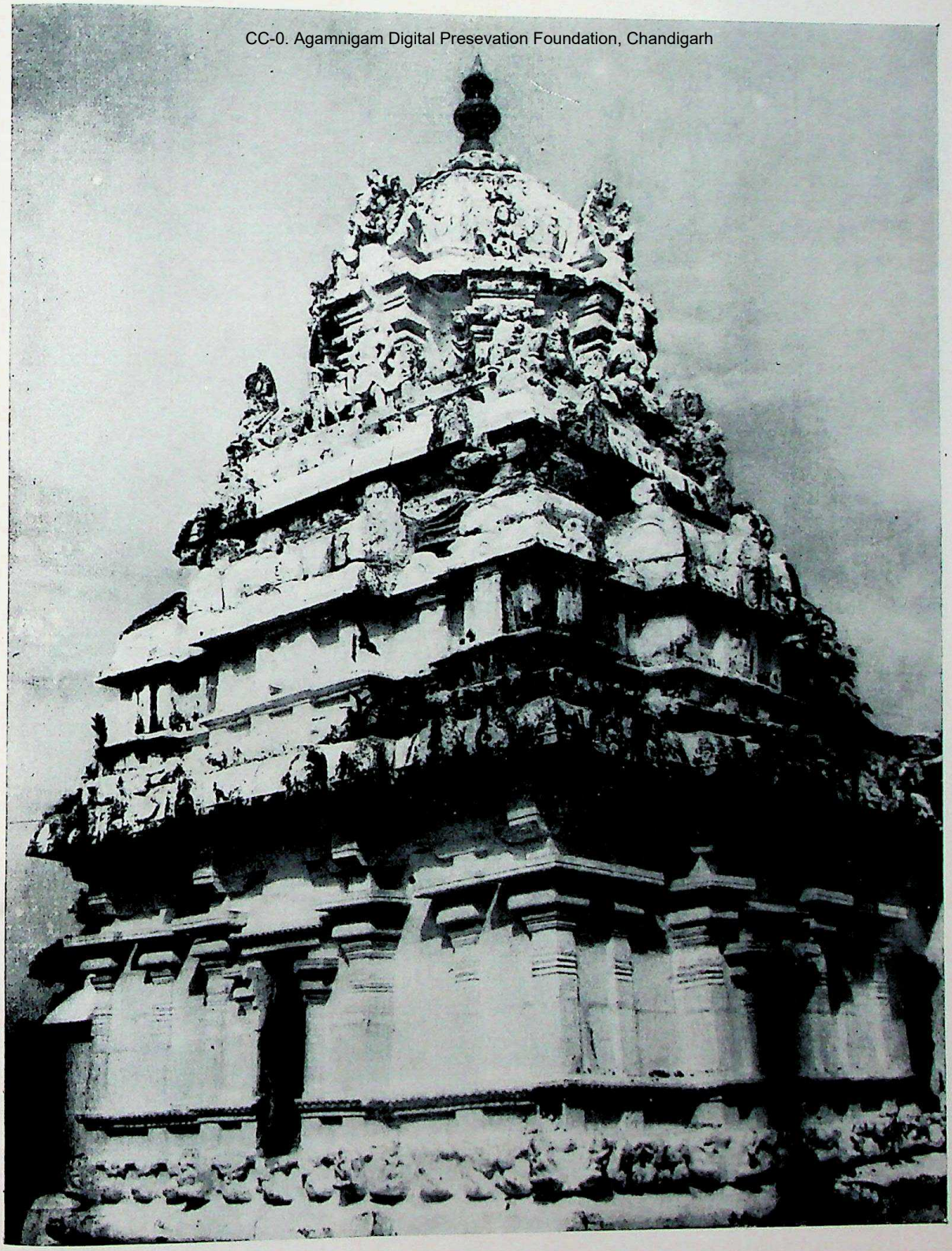
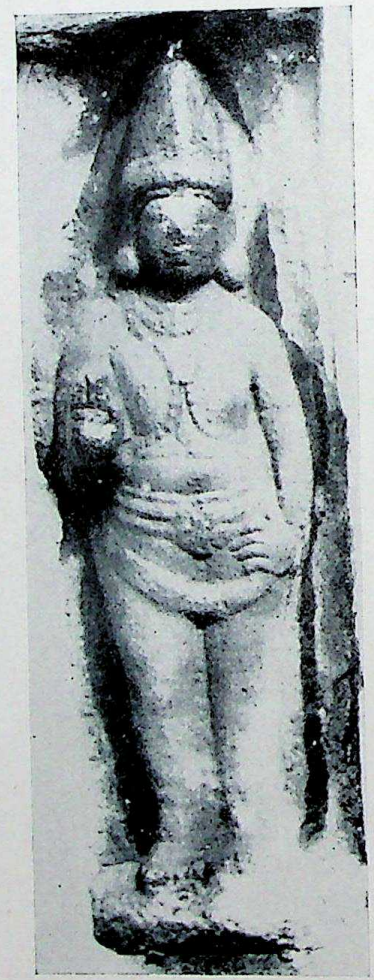


87. Kiliyanur, Agastyesvara temple. Srivimana.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

88. *Kiliyanur, Agastyesvara temple.*

(a) dvarapala.



(b) Subrahmanya (eastern devakoshta).

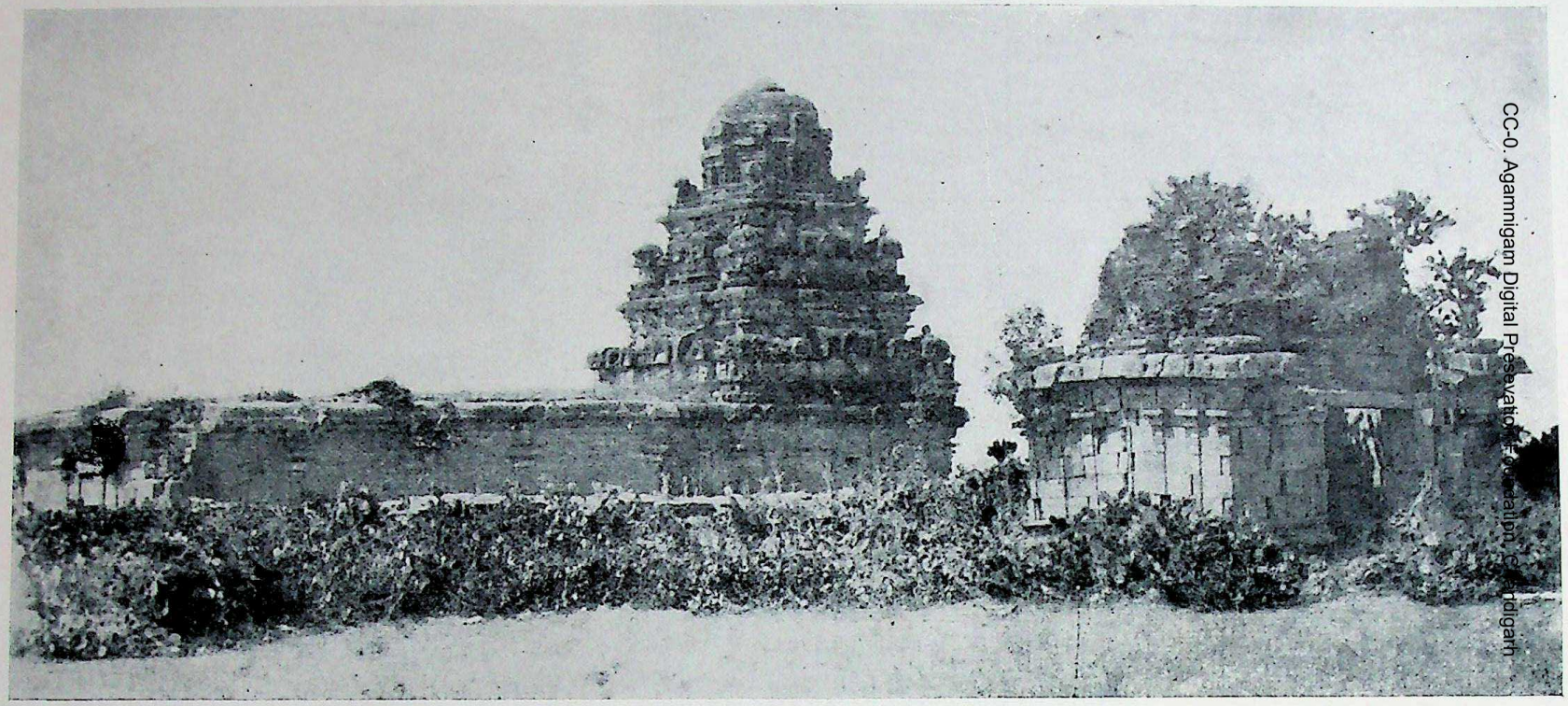
(c) Brahma.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

89. *Tirupparkkadal, Tirukkara-purisvara Temple.*

(a) Vishnu.

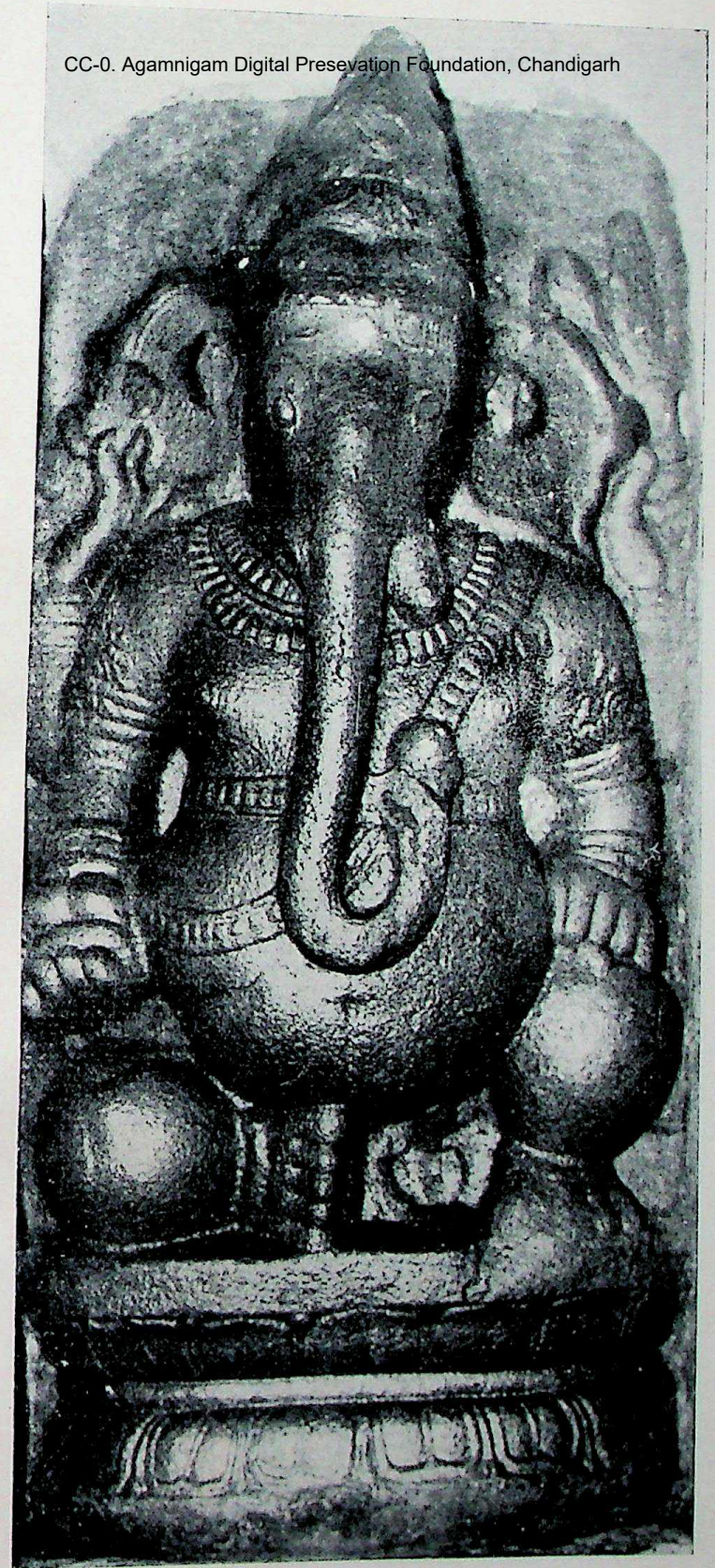
(b) Brahma.



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

90. Brahmadesam, Chandramoulis-vara temple. Srivimana.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



91. Takkolam, Tiruvural-Mahadeva temple. Ganapati.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

92. *Takkolam, Tiruvural-Mahadeva temple. Vishnu.*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

93. *Takkolam, Tiruvural-Mahadeva temple. Dakshinamurti.*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

94. Takkolam, Tiruvural-Mahadeva temple. Brahma.

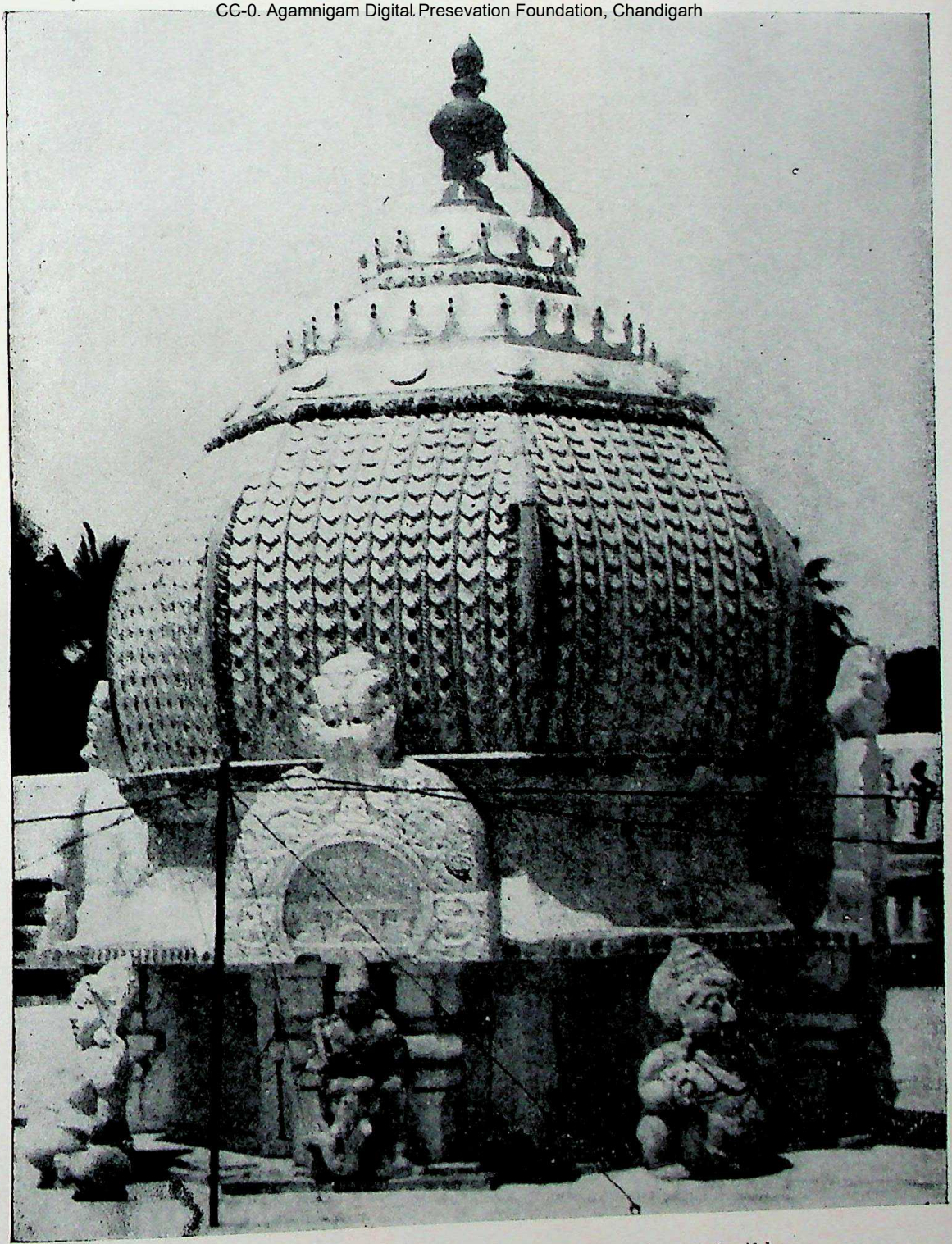
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

95. *Takkolam, Tiruvural-Mahadeva temple, dvarapala.*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

96. Takkolam, Tiruvural-Mahadeva temple, dvarapala.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



97. Tiruvallam, Bilvanathesvara temple : griva and sikhara of vimana (recently renovated)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

98. *Tiruvallam, Bilvanathesvara temple.*

(a) Brahma (griva-figure)

(b) Indra.
(griva-figure).

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99. Tiruvallam, Bilvanathesvara temple.

(a) Vishnu (griva-figure).

(b) Vinadhara Dakshinamurti. (griva-figure).

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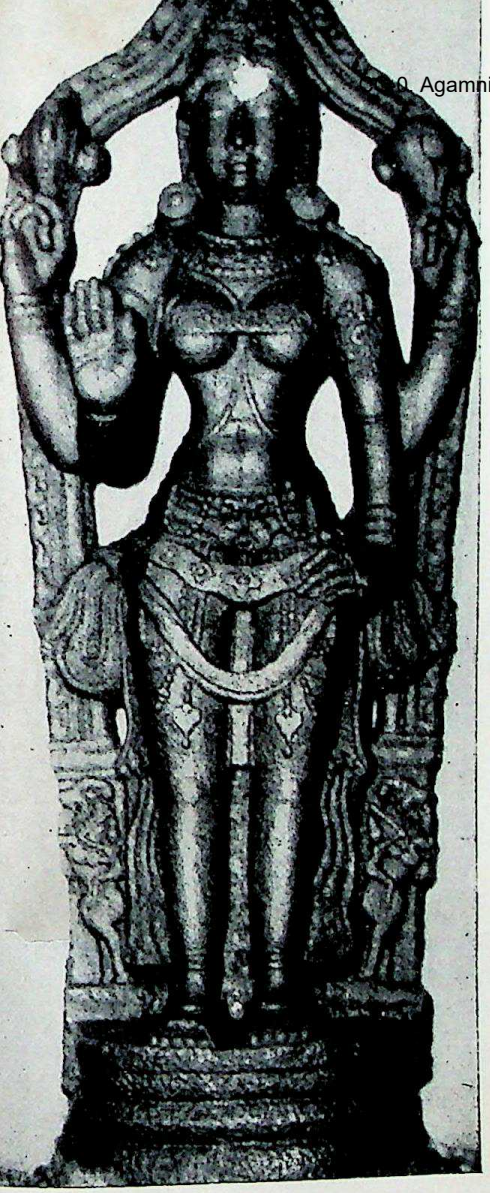
100. Tiruvallam, Bilvanathesvara temple.

(a) Vishnu.

(b) Ganapati.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



101. Tiruvallam, Bilvanathesvara temple.

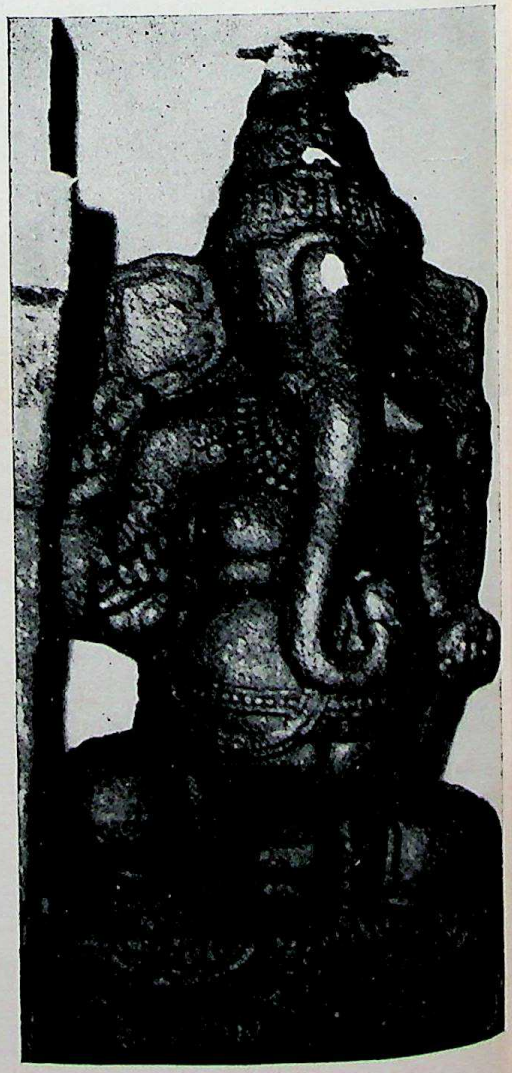
(a) Durga.

(b) Dakshinamurti.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

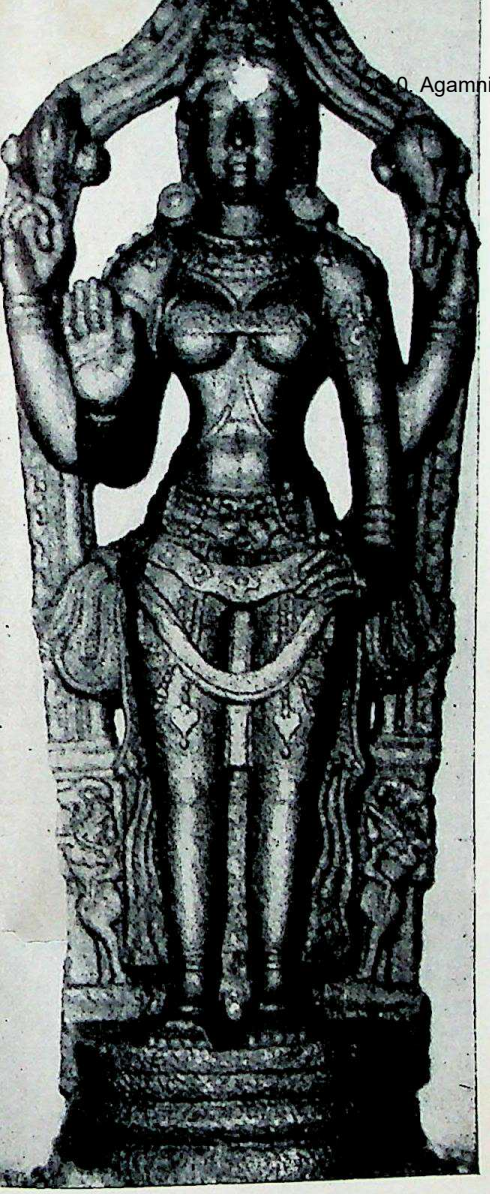
100. Tiruvallam, Bilvanathesvara temple.

(a) Vishnu.



(b) Ganapati.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

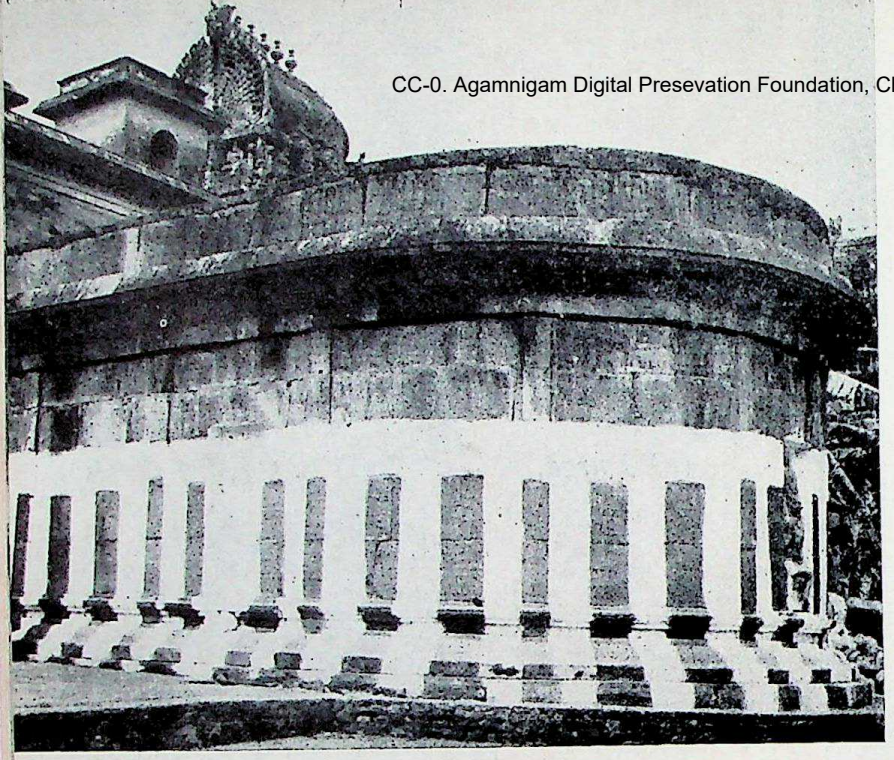


101. Tiruvallam, Bilvanathesvara temple.

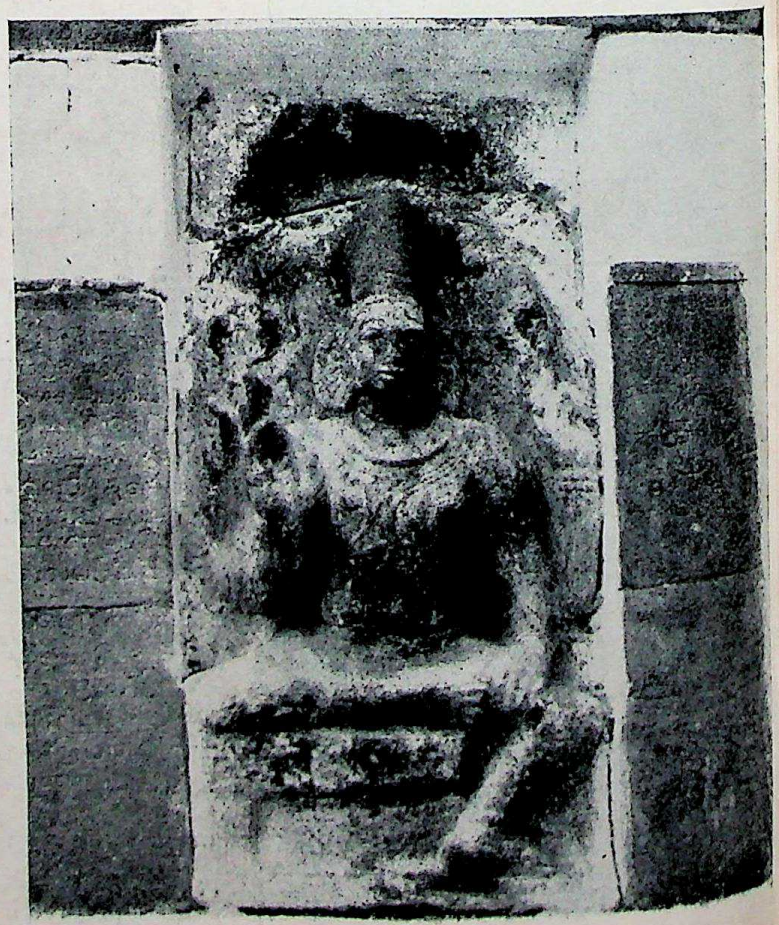
(a) Durga.

(b) Dakshinamurti.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



102. *Tirukkalukkunram, Tiru-Mulasthanam-Udaiyar temple:*
(a) apsidal vimana in the prakara of the Bhaktavatsala temple.

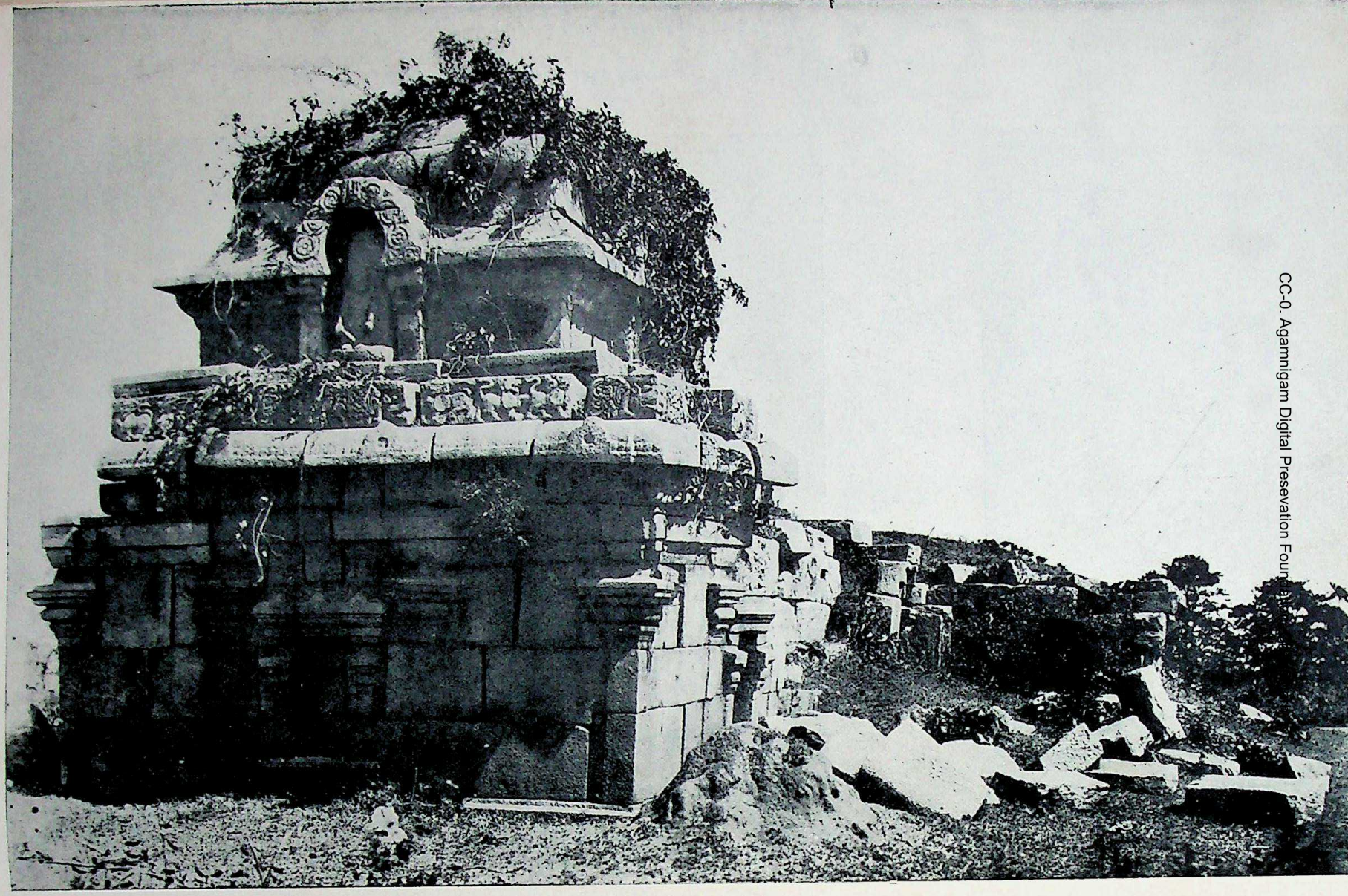


(b) Vishnu.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

103. Tirukkalukkunram, Tiru-Mulasthanam-Udaiyar temple, (devakoshta figures):

(a) Durga, *(b) Yoga Dakshinamurti,* *(c) Brahma*



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation

104. Malurpatna, Amritesvara temple : vimana.

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105. Nandi, Bhoganandisvara temple : vimana.

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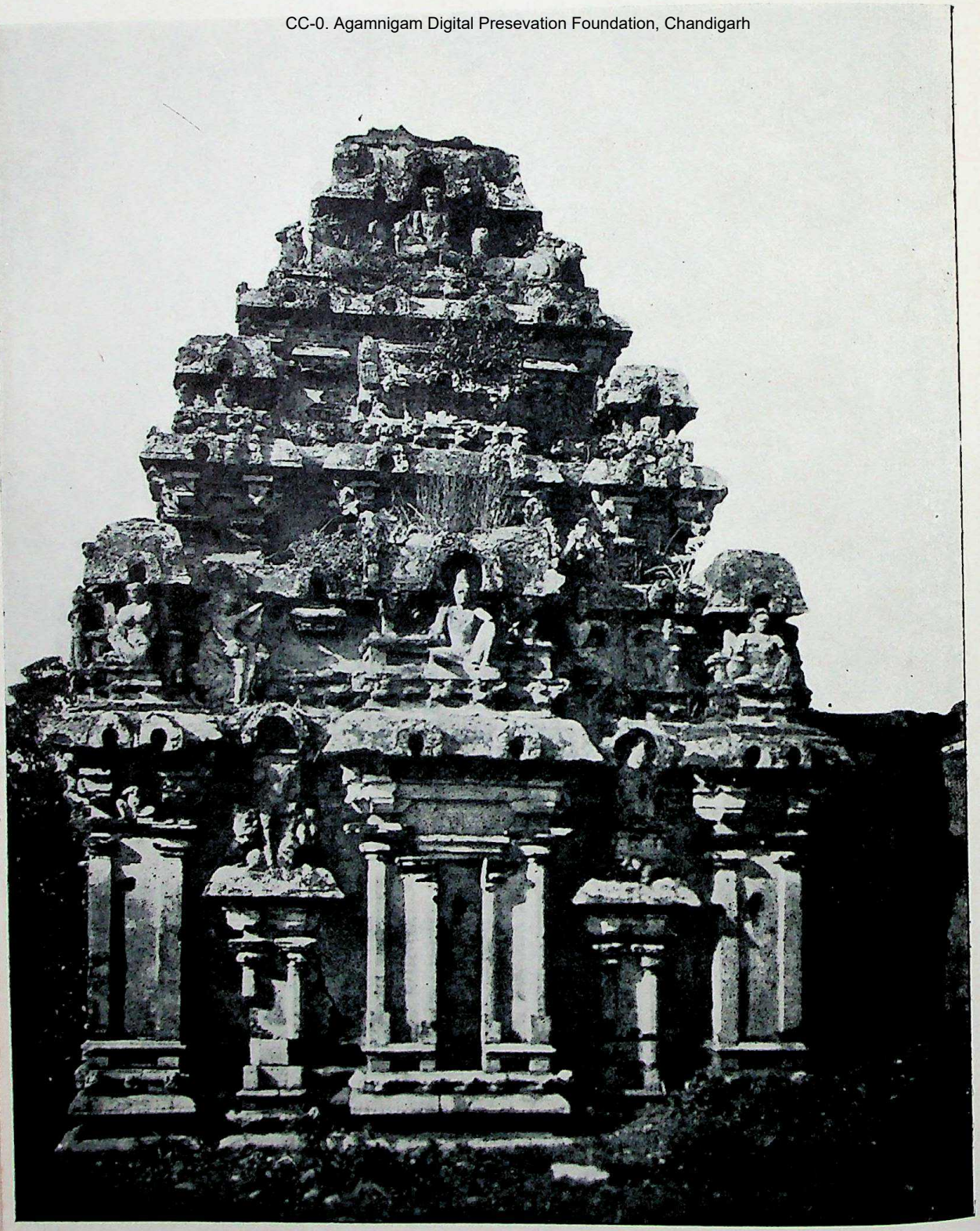

106. Narasamangalam : vimana.

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107. Kambadahalli, Panchakuta Basti (Jaina) : Shrine with square sikhara.

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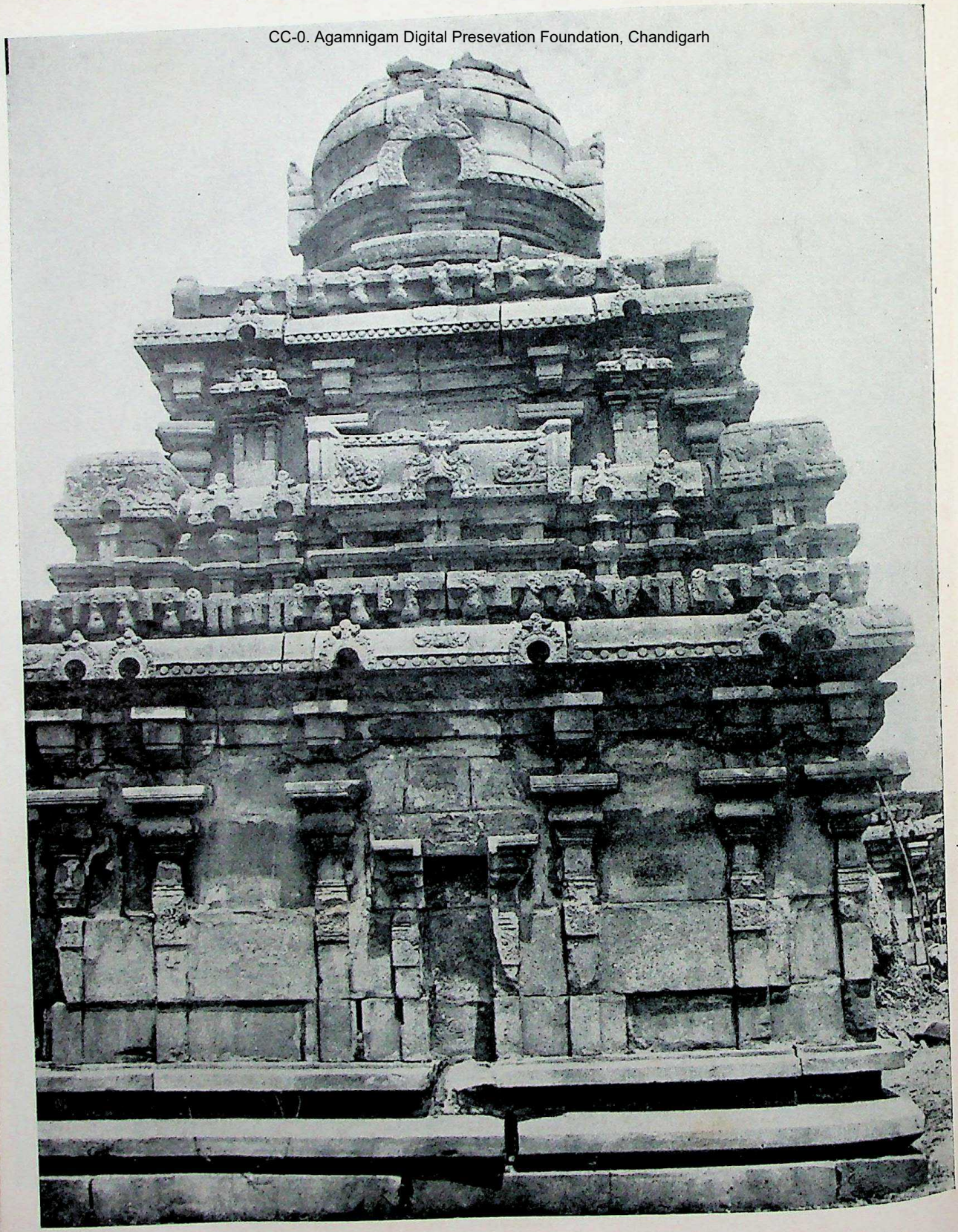
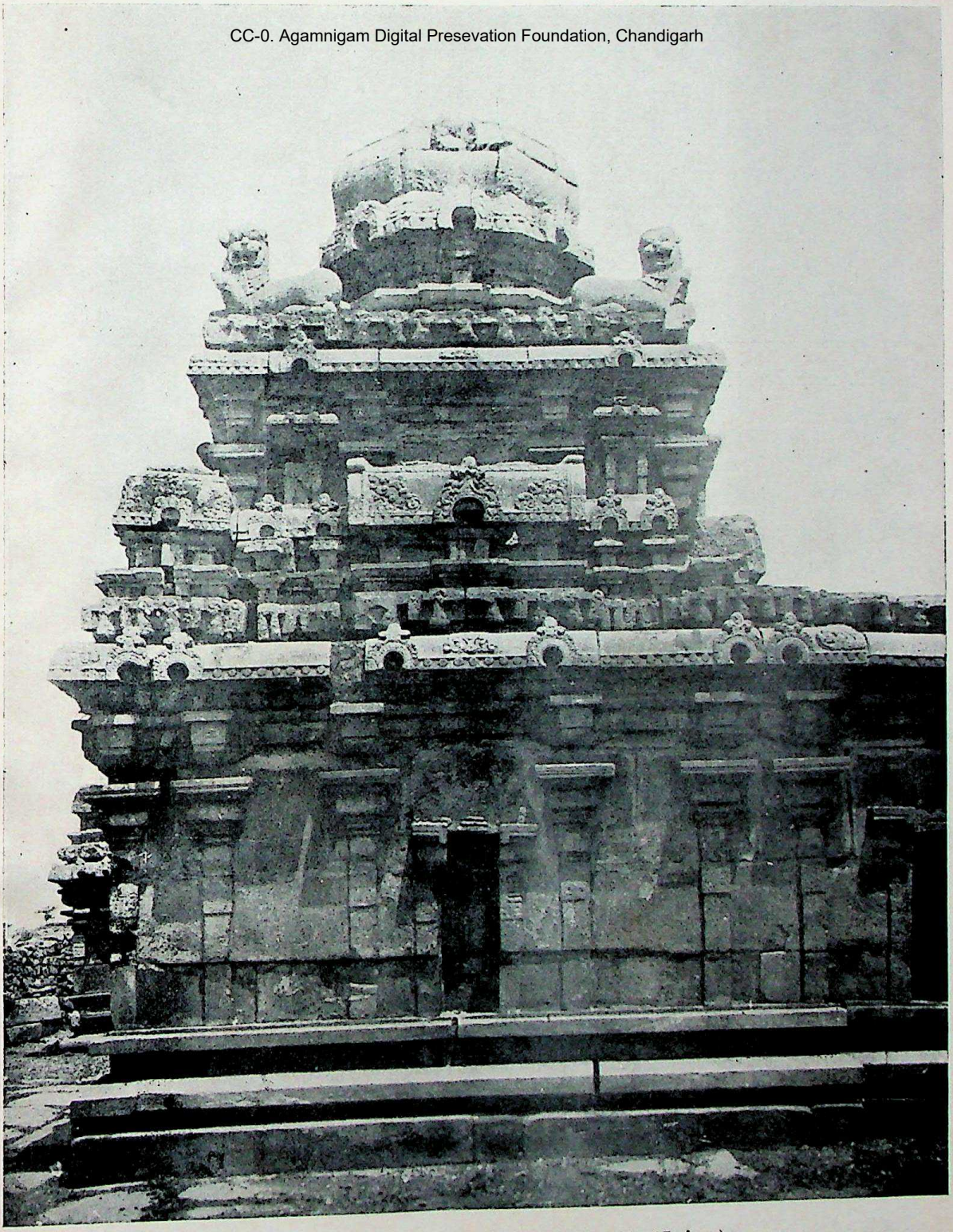
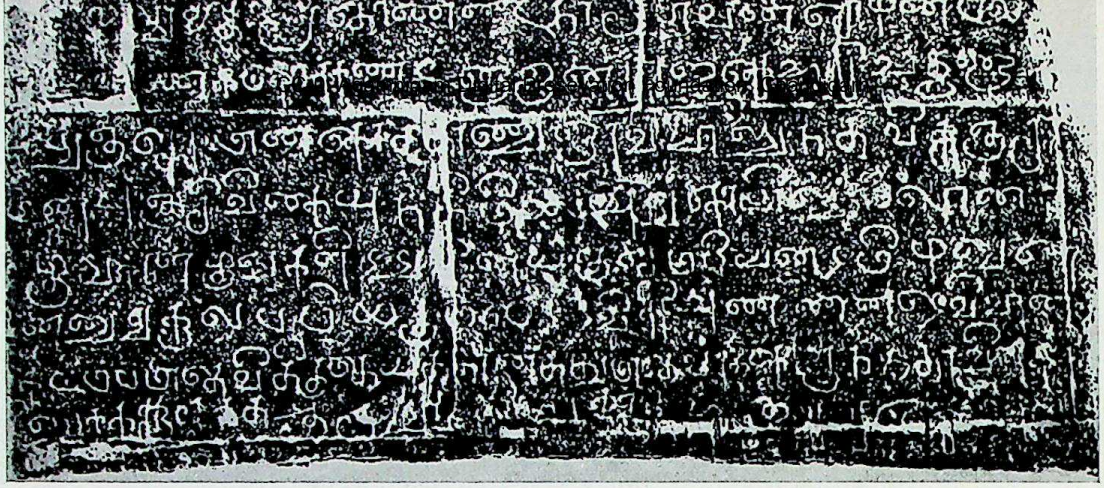


108. Kambadahalli, Panchakuta-Basti (Jaina) : Shrine with bulbous sikhara.

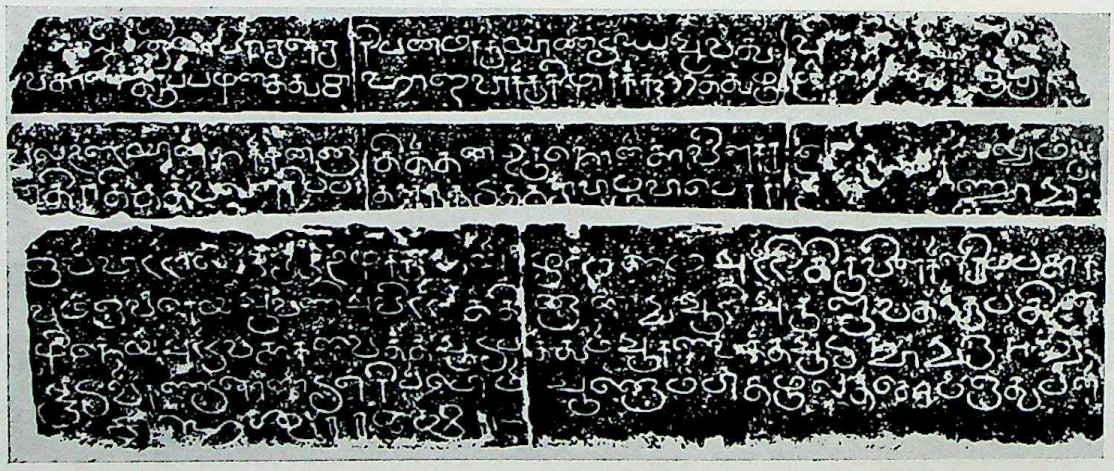
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



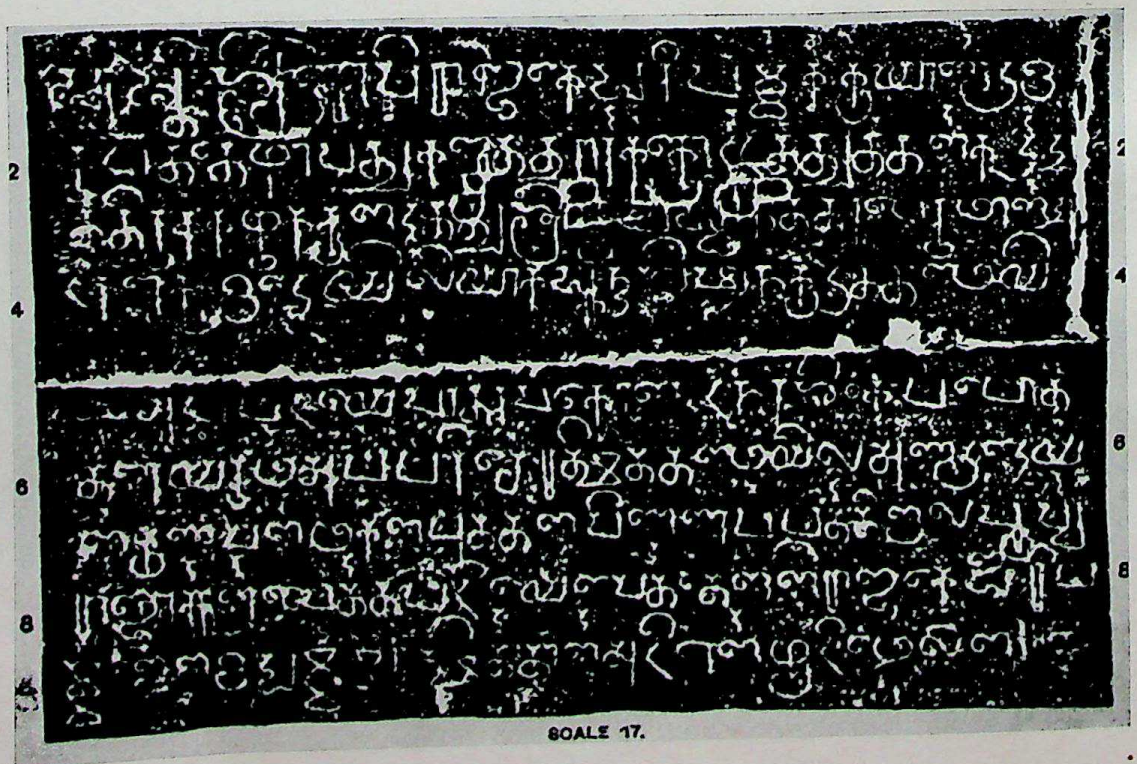
109. Kambadahalli, Panchakuta-Basti (Jaina): Shrine with octagonal sikhara.



110. Rajakesari Inscriptions : *(a) Tillaisthanam,* ↑



↑ *(b) Tiruppalanam,* *(c) Tirukkalukkunram.* ↓



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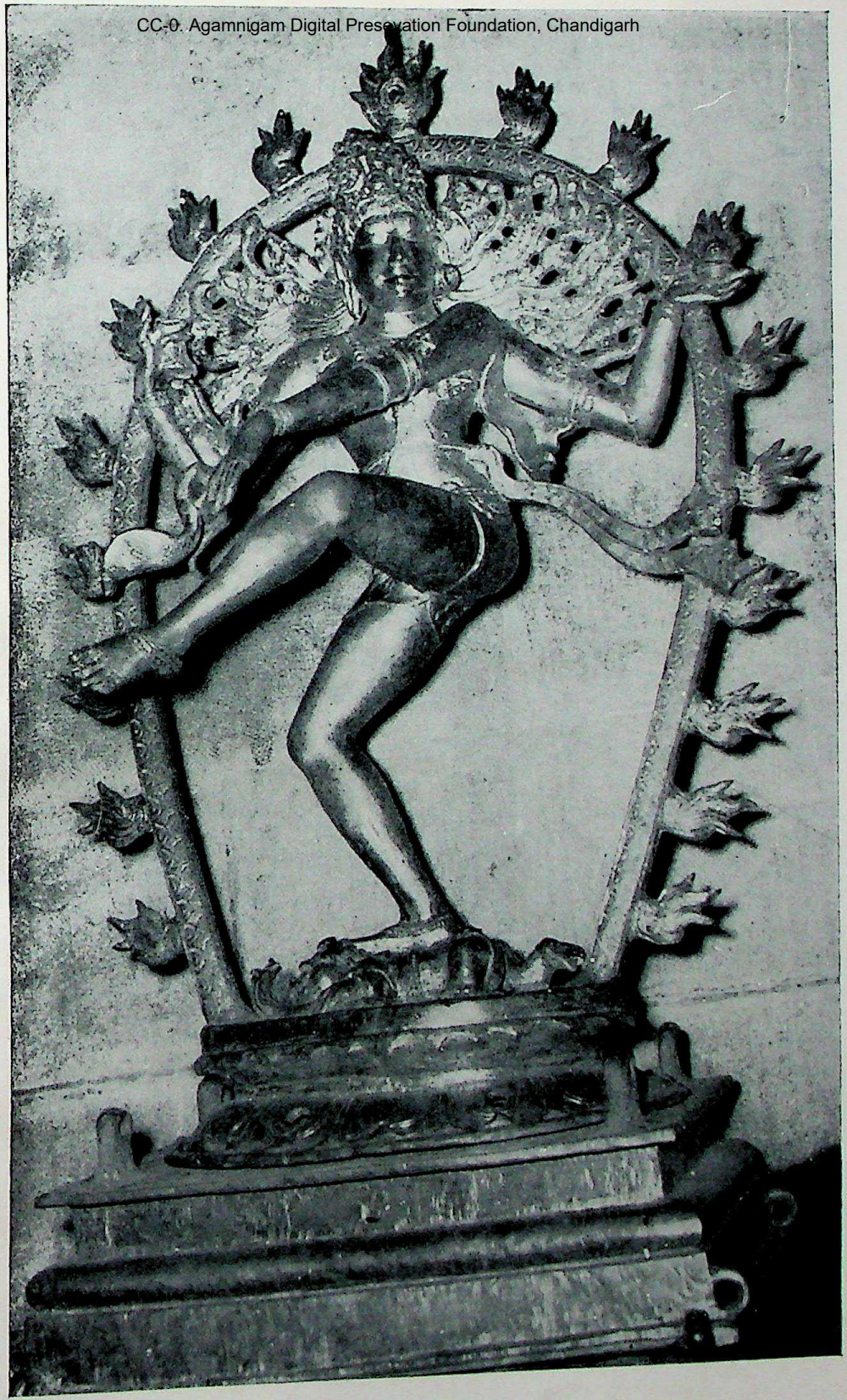

111. Sivapuram : Nataraja.

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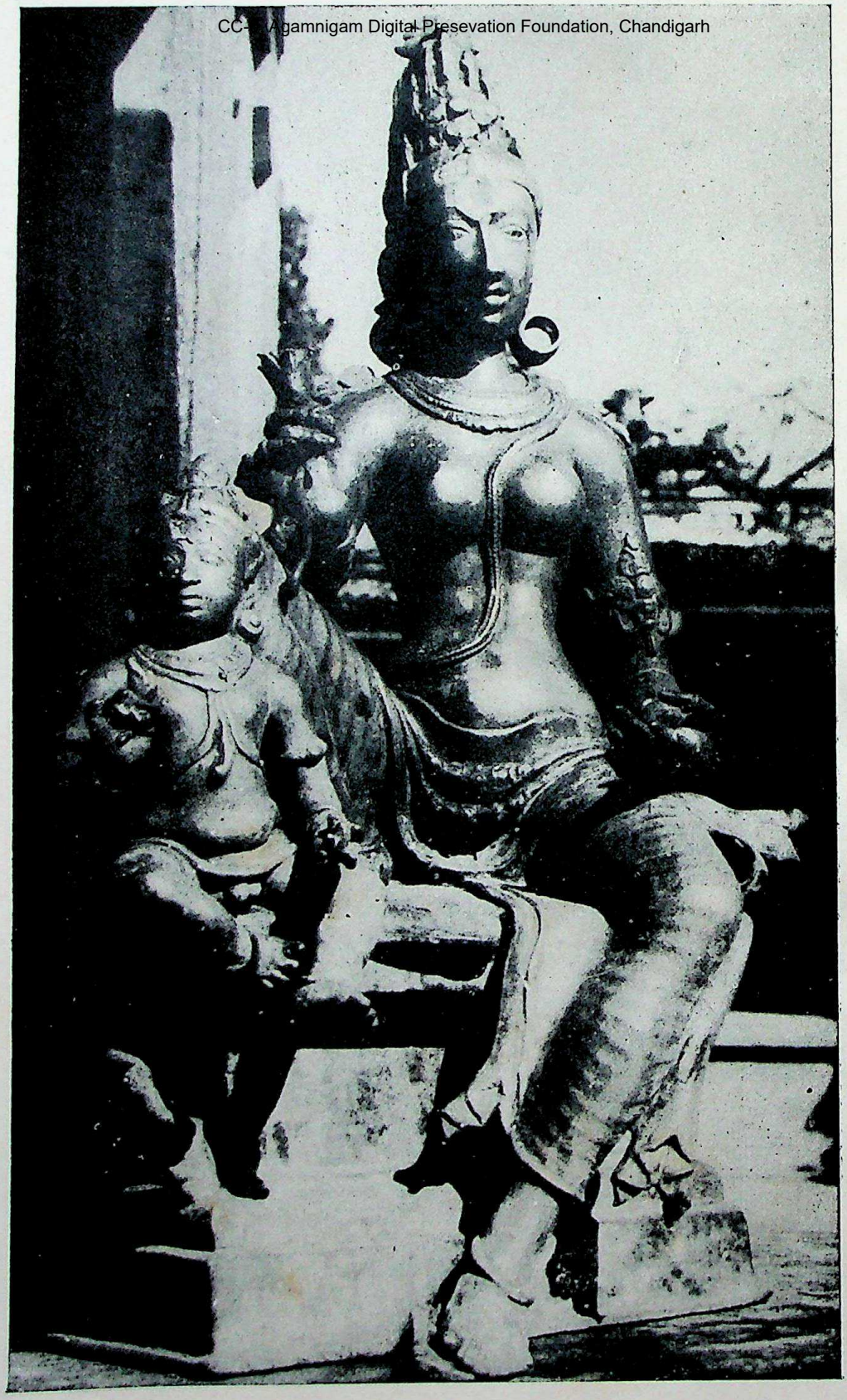

112. Pallavanesvaram : Skanda and Uma.

113. Kilakkadu : Nataraja.

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114. Tittagudi : Subrahmanya.

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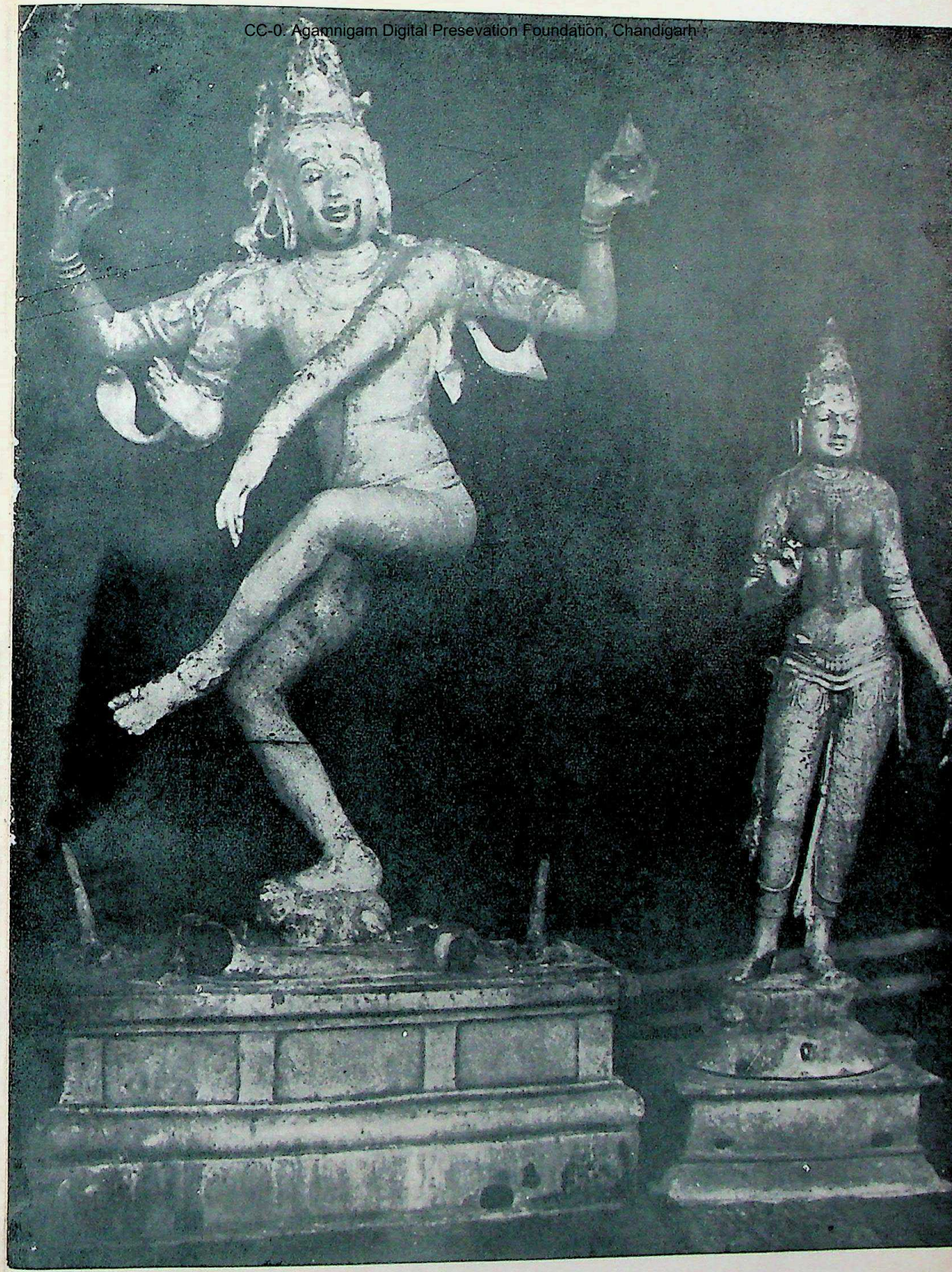

115. Tandantottam : Nataraja.

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CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

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